



# NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

**May 2010**

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## DEFENSE GUIDING PRINCIPLES • THE WHITE HOUSE



The Obama Administration is investing in a strong, agile, well-trained, and well-equipped U.S. military that can fight and win the nation's wars. U.S. Armed Forces must be able to prevail in current operations and the missions they are most likely to face, while developing capabilities to deter potential adversaries and provide a hedge against other risks and contingencies. Our policies will incorporate lessons from our experience in Iraq and

Afghanistan. First and foremost, we will ensure that our troops have the training, equipment and support that they need when they are deployed, and the care that they and their families need and deserve.

The National Security Strategy, released May 27, 2010, lays out a strategic approach for advancing American interests, including the security of the American people, a growing U.S. economy, support for our values, and an international order that can address 21st century challenges.

### **Take Care of Our Troops, Military Families, and Veterans**

- **Expand Ground Forces to Meet Military Needs and Improve Quality of Life:** Increasing end strength in the Army and Marine Corps will help units retrain and re-equip properly between deployments, reduce the strain on military families, and help put an end to stop loss. We also plan to halt end strength reductions in the Air Force and Navy.
- **Lighten Burdens on Our Brave Troops and Their Families:** Those in uniform are not the only ones who serve; military families are a top priority for this Administration. The President has announced plans to raise military pay and continue providing quality child-care, job-training for spouses, and expanded counseling and outreach to families that have known the separation and stress of war.
- **Serve Our Veterans:** The President is committed to giving veterans the care they were promised and the benefits they have earned. For additional information on veterans' issues, visit the Veterans Issues Page.

### **Rebalance Defense Capabilities for the 21st Century**

- **Institutionalize Irregular Warfare Capabilities:** We must ensure our troops have the equipment they need to prevail in current operations, including assets that provide critical information, protection, and mobility. We will increase intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR) support for troops in the field and research and development. We will increase spending on helicopters and crews and grow U.S. Special Operations capabilities.
- **Preserve Air Supremacy:** We must preserve our unparalleled airpower capabilities to deter and defeat any conventional competitors, quickly respond to crises across the globe, and support our ground forces. We intend to make a greater investment in advanced technology and essential systems like fifth-generation F-35 fighters.
- **Maintain Dominance at Sea:** We must recapitalize our naval forces, replacing aging ships and modernizing existing platforms, while adapting them to the 21st

century. We will focus on increasing naval capabilities that support presence, stability and counterinsurgency operations in coastal regions.

- **Missile Defense:** To better protect our forces and those of our allies, we intend to field more of our most capable theater missile defense systems, including the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense System and Standard Missile 3 programs, and convert additional Aegis ships to increase ballistic missile defense capabilities.
- **Space:** The full spectrum of U.S. military capabilities depends on our space systems. To maintain our technological edge and protect assets in this domain, we will continue to invest in next-generation capabilities such as operationally responsive space and global positioning systems. We will cooperate with our allies and the private sector to identify and protect against intentional and unintentional threats to U.S. and allied space capabilities.
- **Cyberspace:** U.S. national security also depends on a functioning and resilient cyber domain. The United States will lead international and domestic efforts to ensure the security of the global information infrastructures continue to invest in cyberspace, and increase collaboration with the private sector and allies to protect this critical domain.

### **Reform Procurement, Acquisition, and Contracting**

Our economic circumstances require a change in the way we acquire military equipment and services. The Administration intends to stop programs that are not performing and significantly exceed their budget or that spend limited taxpayer dollars to buy more capability than the nation needs. We will ensure that requirements are reasonable and technology is available to affordably meet programs' cost and schedule goals. We intend to realistically estimate program costs, provide budget stability for the programs we initiate, adequately staff the government acquisition team, and provide disciplined and effective oversight.

### **Develop and Resource Strategies to Succeed in Current Conflicts**

- **Afghanistan:** The President's new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan will ensure that all elements of national power are engaged and integrated in an effort to defeat al Qaeda to prevent attacks on the homeland and on our Allies and partners. We are asking our friends and allies to join us with a renewed commitment. We also will regularly assess the progress of our efforts and those of the governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan through clear measurements to ensure ongoing informed accountability.
- **Iraq:** Because of the skilled efforts of our troops and commitment of the Iraqi people to building a better life through a peaceful political process, violence in Iraq has reduced substantially. Because of this, we are moving forward with a responsible drawdown of our combat forces, transferring security to Iraq's forces. Under the Strategic Framework Agreement and Security Agreement, Iraqi personnel have taken the lead in security operations and will continue to assume greater responsibility.
- **Communicate the Full Costs of Our Operations:** The American people deserve an honest accounting of the cost of our involvement in our ongoing military operations. We will move away from ad hoc funding of long-term commitments through supplemental and include future military costs in the regular budget so that we have an honest, more accurate, and fiscally responsible estimate of Federal spending.

## **Strengthen Our Alliances and Partnerships**

We are committed to strengthening existing alliances and partnerships and building new ones to confront current challenges. Additionally, to boost global partnership capacity, we will support funding to allow the increased training and equipping of foreign militaries to undertake counter terrorism and stability operations. As the threat posed by al Qaeda is international in scope; the response should also be international.

## **Use All Elements of American Power**

To meet today's challenges, the United States must harness our military, diplomatic, economic, information, legal, and moral strength in an integrated and balanced fashion. The President is committed to building our civilian national security capacity so that the burden for stability operations is not disproportionately absorbed by our military. In Afghanistan, in particular, at the same time that we are increasing our troop commitment, we will employ the necessary civilian resources to build Afghan governance capacity and self-sufficiency.

## **A BLUEPRINT FOR PURSUING THE WORLD THAT WE SEEK • The White House blog**

**Posted by Nikki Sutton on May 27, 2010 at 10:51 AM EDT**

The President's highest priority is always to keep the American people safe. Today the Administration is releasing the National Security Strategy that lays out a strategic approach for advancing American interests, including the security of the American people, a growing U.S. economy, support for our values, and an international order that can address 21st century challenges.

The National Security Strategy is guided by a clear understanding of our increasingly interconnected world where the free flow of information, people and goods continues to accelerate at an unprecedented pace promising new opportunities while simultaneously posing challenges that no longer recognize borders: global networks of terrorists and criminals, threats in space and cyberspace, a degrading climate, and technologies with tremendous destructive power. The response systems and international architecture of the 20th century, designed for another time, are buckling under the weight of these new threats. Currently, these realities describe the world as it is.

Throughout American history, we have risen to such moments of transition and faced new challenges head on to help shape a world of greater security and prosperity. The National Security Strategy is a blueprint for pursuing the world that we seek by outlining a strategy to rebuild our foundations, promote a just and sustainable international order, strengthen and integrate national capabilities, all while advancing American interests, security, prosperities, and universal values.

From ensuring strong alliances, which are the foundation of U.S., regional and global security, to leveraging American leadership to encourage sustained international cooperation to address global issues, America has the tools to face the national security challenges of the 21st century while holding true to the universal values our nation has stood for since its founding.

## REMARKS ON THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION'S NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY • Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State

The Brookings Institute, Washington, DC. May 27, 2010



**SECRETARY CLINTON:** Well, thank you very much for giving us this opportunity to come here to Brookings to talk about the National Security Strategy. I appreciate Strobe's very kind words about this strategy, because certainly, an enormous amount of attention has been paid at the highest levels of the Obama Administration over the last 15 months. And it is our attempt to try to integrate many of the various aspects of national security. One of our goals coming into the Administration was to do exactly what Strobe said, to

begin to make the case that defense, diplomacy, and development were not separate entities either in substance or process, but that indeed they had to be viewed as part of an integrated whole and that the whole of government then had to be enlisted in their pursuit.

So I am very pleased that I have this opportunity. There are so many old friends and important thinkers and talkers about American foreign policy who are here today along with members of the diplomatic community, and we're very pleased to see all of you.

This is a comprehensive national security strategy that integrates our strengths here at home, our commitment to homeland security, our national defense, and our foreign policy. In a nutshell, this strategy is about strengthening and applying American leadership to advance our national interests and to solve shared problems. We do this against the backdrop of a changed and always changing global landscape and a difficult inheritance: two wars, a struggling economy, reduced credibility abroad, international institutions buckling under the weight of systemic changes, and so much more.

Our approach is to build the diverse sources of American power at home and to shape the global system so that it is more conducive to meeting our overriding objectives: security, prosperity, the explanation and spread of our values, and a just and sustainable international order.

Now, obviously, the world that we confront today has changed. This is a comprehensive National Security Strategy because we believe that we have to look at the world in a much more comprehensive way. The pace and nature of interconnection, economic interdependence, new technologies – all of those have in some ways brought the world, I would say, superficially closer together, but in other ways demonstrated the intensity of the demand on the United States to be able to respond and lead.

The type and number of actors with influence – emerging powers, non-state actors – we saw this in a very clear way in Copenhagen when President Obama and I worked to create a mechanism of some sort that would justify the gravity of the challenge we face and the extraordinary efforts that so many nations and non-state actors had put in to the lead-up to Copenhagen.

We see a world in which great power is exercised by primarily one nation, but there are many other existing and emerging powers. And yet it is not so much about the conflicts between powers, but the new and complicated threats that underscore and drive much of

the interaction between powers in the world today: terrorism, proliferation, climate change, cybersecurity, energy security, and many other forces at work in our world.

But there are also huge opportunities, new modes of cooperation, new capacities to improve lives, some tangible efforts to bridge great gaps in understanding both through the media and through diplomacy. We are in a race between the forces of integration and the forces of disintegration, and we see that every day. And part of our challenge is to define American leadership in relevant terms to the world of today and tomorrow, and not merely looking in the rearview mirror, which makes it very hard to drive forward.

So in a world like this, American leadership isn't needed less, it's actually needed more. And the simple fact is that no significant global challenge can be met without us.

I often say that we are standing alone when it comes to military and economic strength that is unmatched, but there is so much more to what we are attempting to both manage and direct and even, in some cases, solve in the long list of problems that we encounter. Meeting the challenges calls for innovation, adaptability, the power to project values, the capacity to convene and connect broad coalitions of actors. This is actually a very important American comparative advantage. So we are now less powerful, but we need to apply our power in different ways. We are shifting from mostly direct exercise and application of power to a more sophisticated and difficult mix of indirect power and influence.

So smart power is not just a slogan. It actually means something. It certainly meant something to me when I started using it. And I think it is gradually being picked up as a fair descriptor of what we are undertaking.

We have to balance and integrate all of the elements of our power, starting with the so-called three Ds – defense, diplomacy, and development – but also including our economic power and the power of our example. We need to have strategic patience and persistence, because indirect applications of power and influence take time. Now, every diplomat of any historical experience knows that. But the kind of slow, patient diplomacy that is necessary for the vast majority of problems that have been faced in diplomacy, going back in history, is so much more difficult today.

I mean, think about some of those critical moments that we look back at with admiration when breakthroughs occurred. How hard is it now to imagine doing that with Twitter, with blogs, with 24/7 media coverage so that the necessary ingredients of building some level of trust, to understand opposing points of view, to have the luxury of time, even if it's just days and weeks, to think through approaches, that has all been telescoped. I've told a number of friends and colleagues that the intensity of the diplomatic enterprise is so much greater than it was even when I observed it and, to some extent, participated in it back in the '90s. It's just a constantly accelerating mechanism that requires people to act often more quickly than the problem deserves. Yet that is the world in which we find ourselves. And so therefore, we have to adapt to it and we have to understand what it will take to meet the requirements of the times in which we find ourselves. And we need partners. We need partners to help us tackle these shared problems.

I said at the Council on Foreign Relations last year that two inescapable facts define our world. First, that no nation can meet the world's challenges alone. And second, that we face very real obstacles that stand in the way of turning commonality of interest into common action. Thus, leadership means overcoming those obstacles by building the coalitions that can produce results against those shared challenges. It means providing incentives for states who are part of the solution, whether they recognize it or not, enabling them and encouraging them to live up to responsibilities that even a decade ago they would never have thought were theirs, and disincentives for those who do not.

We have a systematic strategy for cultivating partners that can be called upon to help us address global challenges. First, energizing and updating our alliances. I came from two of our strongest allies, Japan and South Korea, over the last several days. And my very first trip as Secretary of State was to Asia, to those countries as a way of energizing those alliances, and we've done much on that since, building robust strategic dialogues with emerging centers of influence.

There's too often kind of a dismissal of dialogue or of creating some ongoing diplomatic framework in which to discuss a whole range of issues. I happen to be a big believer. I think that deepening our engagement with key countries like Russia, China, India and others gives us a better understanding and also to our counterparts. It also puts the relationship on a broader framework than just the usual hotspot, crisis, emergency that then marshals everybody's attention. And we have seen how just in this last year, using those dialogues has helped to address some serious common problems, but it has also helped to keep the relationship on an even keel going forward.

We have, as you know, built on the work of prior administrations with respect to China, and now have probably the biggest exchange of government officials and sharing of insights that we have ever had, not only with China, but probably with any country. We took over 200 American Government officials to Beijing for the second round of the Strategic and Economic Dialogue. And a lot of the work that was done is never going to get into a headline, but it is significant.

Two quick examples: We signed the first-ever agreement where American experts will work with their Chinese counterparts in developing the natural gas industry in China, which holds promise. Why is that important? Well, for China, having indigenous, independent energy sources is good news for them; for us, having China have indigenous, independent energy sources is good news for us. Because we see then a shift away from energy dependence in parts of the world that obviously influence their foreign policy. You have to keep your factories running and the lights on, and there are certain places in the world that provide that. Then that's going to influence how you treat your engagements with those countries.

Secondly, we did a lot of talking about development. China is present very heavily in Africa, in Latin America and other parts of Asia doing development work, much of it tied to economic interests, but not exclusively. And we actually began to have a conversation for the first time about how we can better understand what they're doing, be more transparent with what we're doing, and look for ways to work together.

With India, which starts next week, it is the first time ever we've had a ministerial strategic dialogue. There have been interactions, of course, at many levels. Strobe famously was our point person in the Clinton Administration. But we want to develop connections not only between high-ranking diplomats, as Strobe was, but also between people working on higher education, people working on clean water, people working on women's empowerment. And that is exactly what we intend to do.

We are investing in developing countries that we believe are reaching the tipping point, such as Ghana and Tanzania, to help create new capable partners. The President's speech in Ghana last year was a real clarion call to countries in Africa to think about their potential differently and to build institutions to move from the rule of men to the rule of law. And so we want to work to create more success stories.

We're reaching beyond states to build partnerships with the private sector, NGOs, academia, and I've spoken quite a bit about 21st century statecraft. So we're building partnerships between technology and citizen empowerment in places like the Democratic Republic of Congo. We're looking to bring in our private sector to be a partner in solving problems so that our recently announced initiative, Feed The Future, is picking out certain

countries that we will invest heavily in to try to make their agricultural sectors more productive so that they are then better able to feed themselves. And we're looking to private sector partners to assist us on that.

I also was in Shanghai on this past trip at the Shanghai Expo, and certainly seeing in many respects the extraordinary historical moment that China is enjoying. And China interacts with us not just government to government, but private sector to private sector, and we want to enhance more of those interactions. So, one of my announcements was sending a hundred thousand more students under the Obama Administration's outreach to China in the next four years. So, we're looking for ways that create those person-to-person connections.

We're building strategies to strengthen our engagement with regional institutions – NATO, ASEAN, OAS – and to reform global institutions. The G-20 is the principal example of that in this last year. And we are working on the regional architecture in Asia. I gave a speech a few months ago in Hawaii talking about what that regional architecture with the United States firmly embedded in it will look like. And we're working to make sure that our administrations in our country obviously change over time.

But we believe that there are certain commitments, as we saw in a bipartisan basis to NATO, that need to be embedded in the DNA of American foreign policy and not sort of beginning and ending in fits and starts. The engagement has to remain constant. There was a feeling that the United States had turned away from Asia, and none of our friends wanted that to be the fact. So we can't allow this very big complex world that is so demanding to have the United States absent anywhere.

We're giving adversarial nations a clear choice through dual-track approaches, and we are looking to turn a multi-polar world into a multi-partner world. I know there is a critique among some that somehow talking this way undercuts American strength, power, leadership. I could not disagree more. I think that we are seeking to gain partners in pursuing American interests. We happen to think a lot of those interests coincide with universal interests, and certainly, our interest in effectuating better outcomes for people around the world.

And my view is that we are trying to use every single tool in our tool kit, because universal values lie at the core of who we are, so they must lie at the core of what we do. We seek to solve problems because we're committed to global progress that promotes dignity and the opportunity for everyone to live up to their God-given potentials. Values matter to our national security. That should go without saying, but it needs to be not only repeated, but perhaps emblazoned as a set of principles that are guiding us. Democracy, human rights, development are mutually reinforcing and they are deeply connected to our national interests.

Now, there are, however, different approaches to how we act on those human universal values. Sometimes, there's a clarion call, which I attempted to do in the speech I gave about internet freedom, to put that on the agenda of the world, not just of the State Department. And sometimes, it's discreet diplomacy because we're not interested in just scoring points and getting headlines. We're actually interested in changing conditions, changing attitudes, changing laws, changing people's lives for the better.

Now, development and women's rights are two examples of where results and values converge. It's the right thing to do and it's the smart thing to do. And we see that everywhere. Even in my own staff, I sometimes see a few of my young male staff members' eyes roll when I go into women's rights for the 967th time. But I do that not only because I believe it passionately but because I know from every bit of evidence we've ever done about the connection between development and democracy that women are the key to both, that changing conditions that enable women to attain more influence,



more empowerment – through education, through health care, through jobs, through access to credit – literally changes the map of how people think about themselves, what they expect from their government. And we are going to continue to promote that as a very core interest of the United States.

Now, this is a strategy about results. We ask ourselves all the time, have we contributed in a tangible way to global progress that improves security, widens the circle of prosperity, advances universal values, and helps to build a just and sustainable international order? Or on a more specific basis, have we secured nuclear materials? President Obama's Nuclear Security Summit was an extraordinarily important historic event because for the first time nations came together to talk about what every leader says is the overriding threat to humanity but which we have honored more in the breach than in actions taken.

Have we improved the material conditions of people's lives through effective development? As we are coming into the final lap of our first-ever Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review and the President's PSD on development, we want to be held accountable. We believe that if we're going to be committed to development, we're going to have to ask the American taxpayers to help pay for sending somebody else's child to school or providing somebody else's mother maternal healthcare, we'd better be able to show results.

Because that really brings me to the final point. I appreciated Strobe's really strong endorsement of our process, and I hope as you study the product as well, some of the sort of headlines coming out of it. But perhaps the most important takeaway is that the United States must be strong at home in order to be strong abroad. We have to lead with confidence. We have to have the conditions in effect in our own country where we are able to project both power and influence.

And I don't think it is a surprise to anyone to be told that when President Obama came into office last year in the midst of such a very dangerous economic crisis, with America's economy in precarious position, there was a big question mark: What does this mean? What are other countries going to do as America is economically in a very difficult situation? And I'm happy to report that a year later, thanks to the economic policies that were pursued by the President and endorsed by the Congress, despite all the political to-and-fro about them, we are in a much stronger economic position than we were. And that matters. That matters when we go to China. That matters when we try to influence Russia. That matters when we talk to our allies in Europe. That matters when we deal with our own hemisphere or when we think about what we can do to help influence events for the better in Africa.

And so a lot of this national security strategy for the first time talks about the challenges we face here at home: our own deficit, our debt, the counterterrorism strategies. John Brennan gave a speech about that aspect of the National Security Strategy, talking about some of the changes that have been made in this Administration.

So we are very committed to pursuing this strategy in all of its many component parts, but we think that the sum of the parts adds up to a whole that is a strong endorsement of American leadership and America's defining role in the 21st century. We recognize completely the difficulties in today's world of pursuing and achieving that kind of position. But we believe that we have the strongest possible hand to play because we represent the United States of America and the people of this country, their resilience, their entrepreneurial spirit, their patriotism, and their core fundamental values. And that, more than anything, is what we bring to our work in the world today.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

**MODERATOR:** I want everybody to note that the Secretary of State mikes herself. She's had so much practice in this. I'm not allowed to touch any of the technology around here. (Laughter.)

Madam Secretary, in just a second I'm going to ask Ambassador Martin Indyk to lead off the questions from the floor. But I would like to just pick up on the ugly D, deficit, alongside the robust Ds of diplomacy, defense, and development. You went a long way towards certainly anticipating and even answering this question, but the prospects for the burgeoning of the deficit are not a pretty sight. And I would be – and we've had discussions here in this building and elsewhere around Think Tank Row even in the last week where senior military figures have said that the deficit is at least potentially if not actually the single biggest threat to the national security of the United States.

When you were with countries that – with whom we are allied and who are dependent upon us, do they express concern about this? And when you're with a country – let's say China – that holds a lot of our debt, do you get indications that in order to have real smart power we're going to have to have fiscally sustainable power?

**SECRETARY CLINTON:** I do, Strobe. And I think the concerns that you and others are hearing from our military leaders are certainly matched by our civilian leaders. I think the President is very well aware of the long-term threat that our deficit and debt situation pose to our strength at home and abroad. And other nations, certainly during the last year, put that concern on a back burner while everybody tried to stimulate themselves out of the deep recession that we were facing. But now the conversation has returned to talking about long-term, sustainable growth. And sustainable is not just about the environment; it is about our fiscal standing.

This is a very personally painful issue for me because it won't surprise any of you to hear that I was very proud of the fact that when my husband ended his eight years, we had a balanced budget and a surplus. And that was not just an exercise in budgeteering; it was linked to a very clear understanding of what the United States needed to do to get positioned to lead for the foreseeable future, far into the 21st century.

And when President Obama came into office, he inherited a very different situation. And I watched this as a senator from New York. I voted against tax cuts that were never sustainable, wars that were never paid for, and now we're paying the piper. And it's unfortunate that this president has to take the necessary and difficult steps, which he clearly is committed to doing, that are not politically easy. I mean, I remember very well how hard it was – there was something called the 1994 election, which, in part, had to do with some very tough votes that members of Congress took to lower the deficit.

And there is a very difficult political train. I mean, it's this old sort of unproductive argument between taxes and spending. At the end of the day, you should only tax to the extent you need to meet America's needs at home and abroad, and you should only spend what you need to meet America's needs at home and abroad. But we cannot sustain this level of deficit financing and debt without losing our influence, without being constrained in the tough decisions we have to make about the three Ds. So this is a high priority for this Administration. You'll see it reflected in this National Security Strategy. And we wanted to try to begin with the publication of this strategy to make the national security case about reducing the deficit and getting the debt under control, recognizing that it is going to be very, very politically challenging.

**MODERATOR:** Thank you. Martin, while we're waiting for a mike, please identify yourselves, stand, wait for a mike, keep your questions short so we can have plenty of time for the answers.

**QUESTION:** Martin Indyk, the director of the Foreign Policy Program at Brookings. Madam Secretary, welcome back. We're delighted to have you here today, in particular because in a fit of brilliant timing, our Managing Global Insecurity Project which we do with Stanford University and New York University, happens to be meeting today to discuss the National Security Strategy. Now, you'll be pleased to know that it got very good reviews in our opening discussion, but there were several questions that came up. I'll just put one to you, which is about the question of who defines responsibility in this emerging international order that you're trying to shape with this strategy. And this is presumably something that you've come into contact with in your dialogues with the emerging powers; that is, a point that they may be prepared to take on responsibilities, but they are often unwilling to have us tell them what their responsibilities are.

So I wonder if you could tell us, from your experience, how do you actually shape those responsibilities when there's a kind of resistance to accepting that we should be telling them what to do.

**SECRETARY CLINTON:** Well, Martin, that's a really important, key question. First of all, we come to any discussion with our counterparts around the world with our own definition of responsibility, which is not always self-evident. I mean, what are the responsible positions to take, how do we prioritize among our various responsibilities? When we started this Administration, I think we had an overriding responsibility to do everything we could to get out of the economic recession and to do nothing diplomatically or in any other way that would worsen America's efforts to emerge from the recession.

So that meant that we did a lot of discussing, not just the State Department, Treasury and many others, with counterparts about how we defined responsible action. We urged nations to do stimulus, which for some nations was not immediately apparent to them as to why that would make things better, and there was a lot of work done to try to engage and persuade.

So even when we come to a dialogue or a diplomatic engagement with our own definition of responsibility, that's only after we have had to prioritize among what we see as many of our responsibilities, and then we have to figure out the best ways to work with our counterparts and to try to find some common ground. And there's no cookie-cutter formula that you can impose on all of these different situations, but let's take a few examples.

When we begin on the so-called resetting of the relationship with Russia, we had to take responsibility for the fact that our relationship had really gone off the rails. I mean, there was a lot of mistrust. There was a very big gap in how we were seeing the world. We had the impact of the Georgia situation. There was just a lot going on. And we believed that we had to engage in a very straightforward discussion about responsibility as we began to reengage at a very high level with Russia.

Now, we're not going to see the world the same way. We're not going to agree on the same definitions. But talking about what is the responsible approach toward Iran, for example, talking to Russia, you have had a different history, you have a different experience. We see this as very threatening. Let's be as transparent and open in sharing our views and our information and determine what is a responsible way forward.

With China, we started this discussion about development because we think there are more responsible ways to engage in development than less responsible ones and that will have a longer-term impact. Now, why would the Chinese care about that? Because they make long-term investments, particularly in the natural resources sector. So conflict, any kind of unrest, is a threat to their investments. So while they're doing development, thinking responsibly about how their development programs cannot just secure contracts

and concessions for mining but can create more jobs for the people in the host country, can create a sense of investment, not just in material sense, in the well-being of their future.

So there are many, many examples like that, but it is only through dialogue – you cannot begin a conversation with somebody and say, well, here are the 10 things we think you should do to be a responsible stakeholder, but you can say let's talk about what you're doing in development, what you're doing, as we had many hours of discussions with the Chinese, on North Korea. What kind of responsibility could you exercise if you so chose that would actually be good for you? Because ultimately, if nations do not believe that what the United States is trying to ask them to do or making the case for them to do is in their interest, that's a nonstarter. Some nations have expanded the definition of what's in their interest.

I think the United States and European countries – we have a much more – a much broader – but we have to some extent the luxury of being able to define it in that way. Other countries are much more focused on, okay, is this going to be good for me today and maybe tomorrow, and I'm not so sure about next month. And that's what all of this engagement is designed to do. It is not meeting for the sake of meeting. It is attempting to have meetings of the mind about very difficult issues to make the case of why these things are in people's interest.

And the final example, Martin, because you're so familiar with this, is I gave a speech to AIPAC about why the two-state solution is in Israel's interest. Forget the Palestinians and the Arabs; why is it in Israel's interest? And just very briefly, there are three big reasons: demography, ideology, and technology. If Israel is to remain a democratic Jewish state, then they have to come to grips with their own Arab citizens as well. And if they're going to remain a secure, democratic Jewish state, they've got to come to grips with the technology that is advancing as we speak that will make every part of Israel less secure unless they have some kind of resolution. And if they have any long-term view about how to live with their neighbors, then they've got to deal with the ideology that is rejectionist, that is bred and exacerbated by the failure to come to grips with the two-state solution.

So that may not be the way Israeli Government sees it. But it's only through those kinds of in-depth conversations, really centered around core issues like responsibility, that can be tied into a nation's self-interest that you can actually make any progress.

**MODERATOR:** Bob Abernethy.

**QUESTION:** Madam Secretary, thank you for being here with us today.

**SECRETARY CLINTON:** Thank you.

**QUESTION:** How do you see the reshaping of NATO as it moves forward fitting in, particularly to the economic aspects, that you're emphasizing in the new National Security Strategy?

**MODERATOR:** You should know, by the way, that Secretary Albright was just here a couple of days ago talking about the future of NATO, so a lot of people have this very much in mind.

**SECRETARY CLINTON:** Well, and Secretary Albright did her usual exemplary job in leading the group of very high-level advisors to shape the suggested NATO strategic concept, so I'm glad she's had a chance to brief you.

We have to do a better job of reforming NATO institutions and requiring them to be more cost-conscious and effective in order to maximize the impact of every dollar that every taxpayer of any NATO country – led by, of course, the United States – has in terms of a return on investment for their investment in NATO. NATO has gotten sprawling, hundreds and hundreds of committees, too many staff. There's just a lot that can be done to literally save money and focus the mission of NATO. At the same time, countries have to recognize that as we try to streamline the operations of NATO, their contributions to their collective defense have to be more than they are today.

NATO has given a big umbrella to European countries to permit them to grow and develop, and it was an important mission for the United States to do that, and it created an era in Europe that is unprecedented in history in terms of the unity and the common purpose that both the EU and NATO represent. But we do have to expect more from NATO, and we have to expect more from the member nations.

But I don't want to go just hat in hand and say you've got to do more country X or country Y for the collective defense without also moving very robustly on the reform agenda, because you cannot keep feeding the existing institution and expect to get a different result in terms of cost-effectiveness.

**MODERATOR:** Mauricio and then Tom Pickering.

**QUESTION:** Thank you, Madam Secretary. I'm the director of the Latin American initiative here at Brookings. Speaking about responsibility, global issues like Iran, have your thoughts and reflections on Brazil changed during your tenure as Secretary of State? I have the impression, at the beginning of the Administration, Brazil was seen as part of the solution to deal with divisions in Latin America to global issues, like trade and climate change. But now it's more part of the problem. What are your thoughts about the role that Brazil can play?

**MODERATOR:** Particularly, in the context of the last two weeks, I would think.  
(Laughter.)

**SECRETARY CLINTON:** Well, I see Brazil as part of the solution. I see Brazil has having extraordinary resources and capacity to be put up against problems in our hemisphere and increasingly beyond. That doesn't mean we're always going to agree with the Brazilian Government policy. But Brazil – I mean, we want a relationship with Brazil that stands the test of time no matter who our president is or no matter what the political constellation in Brazil is. And I feel very strongly that on so many important matters, Brazil is a very responsible and effective partner. We could not have stabilized the situation post-earthquake in Haiti without Brazil. I mean, Brazil was there already leading MINUSTAH, the UN peacekeeping force. They lost people, both on the civilian and military side, but they immediately regrouped and came forward and are one of the lead nations in the rebuilding of Haiti. Brazil played a role in the small group that the President and I crashed into in Copenhagen in coming up with an accord out of the Copenhagen conference and signed on to its own commitments on climate change. We have a really robust investment and business relationship with Brazil. So there's a very, very long list of areas of common interest and of partnership that we will work on and expand.

But I don't know that we agree with any nation on every issue. And certainly we have very serious disagreements with Brazil's diplomacy vis-à-vis Iran. And we have told President Lula, I've told my counterpart the foreign minister, that we think buying time for Iran, enabling Iran to avoid international unity with respect to their nuclear program makes the world more dangerous, not less. They have a different perspective on what they see they're doing.

So we just kind of go at it. It goes back to Martin's point: what's the responsible position to take. I mean, if President Lula or Foreign Minister Amorim were sitting here, they'd say, we believe strongly that what we're doing will avoid conflict; it will avoid serious consequences inside Iran; sanctions are not a good tool. I mean, they have a theory of the case. They're not just acting out of impulse. We disagree with it, so we go at it. We say, well, we don't agree with that and we think the Iranians are using you and we think it's time to go to the Security Council and that it's only after the Security Council acts that the Iranians will engage effectively on their nuclear program.

But our disagreement doesn't in any way undermine our commitment to see Brazil as a friend and a partner in this hemisphere and beyond.

**MODERATOR:** Tom Pickering.

**QUESTION:** Thank you, Madam Secretary. Tom Pickering. I spent a little time in my life in your Department.

**SECRETARY CLINTON:** I know you did, with great distinction. (Laughter.)

**QUESTION:** Thank you for being here and thank you for your remarks. You just answered a question from Strobe about debt. And we all know and understand the problem of the deficit. Over the past years, both Secretary Gates and you and most of your living predecessors have talked about the need for diplomacy and the need to make our diplomacy and development a more robust feature on the landscape. That takes funding. You've been in the Senate. You know the attitude.

In light of the deficit issue, the President's priorities on national security, what can we expect, where will your leadership in the Department take us over the next two or three years in terms of meeting the goals that I know you have set, which are very ambitious for strengthening our diplomacy and development?

**SECRETARY CLINTON:** Well, thank you, Tom. Well, as you probably know, we had a very good year last year with the Congress in obtaining the resources we needed to build our diplomacy and development base, particularly on personnel. This year is a harder year, but we still are being treated very well by the Congress. And obviously, we make several cases. Number one, we have no choice. We have to be present everywhere. It's not like we can look at the map and say, "I think the United States just won't go there." That is just untenable. So we have to have a robust, diplomatic, and development presence. And that takes people and that takes the infrastructure needed to support those people.

Secondly, we have some very specific challenges, namely in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. And we are assuming responsibilities with the full-throated endorsement of both Secretary Gates and Admiral Mullen for functions that had been folded into the military's role in Iraq and Afghanistan. It is really expensive for the United States civilian personnel to pick up those tasks. You don't think about it, but when young captains or colonels went out in Iraq to meet with tribal leaders or to survey a dam the United States had repaired or a school we had built, they went in mine-resistant armored vehicles or they flew on helicopters. Our civilians don't have those resources.

So in order for us to pick up the responsibilities and to fulfill our obligations of the security of our diplomats and our development experts, it costs money. We have to fortify the places they work and live. A lot of fun has been made of the Embassy in Baghdad, but it – during my time, it's gotten rocket fire probably a dozen times. And so in order for us to meet the obligations that are now being asked of our civilian personnel, it costs money. We can't in good faith send people into harm's way without the physical security being taken into account.

But we would also argue, and we do, that we save money. As we draw down our troops in Iraq, even as we ramp up our civilian presence, we will save the American Government \$15 billion, because it's a lot more expensive to keep our troops in Iraq than it is to keep our civilians even with hardened facilities and transportation. So I think that you can look at this from a kind of budget need and a budget tradeoff and a savings perspective.

But you then also have to put it into the broader context. One of the mistakes that the military itself believed had been made in the prior administration is that we militarized America's presence in these difficult conflict areas. And there are a lot of good reasons why that had to be done in the first instance. But we cannot have a militarized model of diplomacy and development and expect to be successful in making our case on all these other issues that we engage with governments on.

So I think if you look at all the aspects that go into the budget requests that we're making – I was very pleased that both Secretary Gates and Admiral Mullen wrote really strong letters to the House and Senate leadership and the appropriators and the budgeteers to make the case that we have to start looking at a national security budget. You cannot look at a Defense budget, a State Department budget, and a USAID budget without Defense overwhelming the combined efforts of the other two and without us falling back into the old stovepipes that I think are no longer relevant for the challenges of today. So we want to begin to talk about a national security budget, and then you can see the tradeoffs and the savings. And it's not us going and making our case to our appropriators and DOD going and making their case to their appropriators.

Now, there is resistance, and I'll just be – there is resistance in our government and there is resistance in the larger communities that care about defense and security and diplomacy and foreign relations and development and foreign assistance. They are afraid of the idea that we're actually going to be better integrated. I think that is an incredibly shortsighted view. It's shortsighted because in tough budget years, you've got to make the case, since most members of Congress feel their highest duty is to the security of the United States, how diplomacy and development support security. And in order to do that, you have to have better coordination among the three.

Some of you know Jack Lew, who I was very fortunate to bring in as the second Deputy in the State Department for Resources and Management. And part of the reason I did that is because I knew when Jack headed OMB in the Clinton Administration, State would come in with their budget and AID would come in with their budget and the OMB always played them off each other. It was the easiest thing in the world to get money out of the 150 account because they would all come in and they'd say "Oh no, diplomats, oh no, development." And so OMB would go "Great, take it, give it to somewhere else."

We are trying to avoid that; to have a unified approach that will gain the credibility of our government and our Congress and our people, that will present a united front supported by DOD for our development and diplomacy effort. And it's just a smarter way to get the resources we desperately need.

**MODERATOR:** Kemal Dervis will have the last question. He's the director of our Global Economy and Development Program.

**QUESTION:** Madam Secretary, in the spirit of the synthetic strategic approach you presented to us today, I'm going to come back to the deficit and the economic issue a little bit. But one of the things I think around the world people expected and are expecting and were so enthusiastic about with the election of President Obama and of your Administration is more stress on the average family, on the medium income unemployment, and on fighting poverty. And in this balance – and I'm an ex-secretary of the treasury in my own country – but in the balance between fiscal austerity but also

attention to employment, to poverty reduction, in the U.S. itself the unemployment rate remains close to 10 percent. In southern Europe now, there's a major new social problem emerging. In the U.S. in the first eight years of this century, two-thirds of the income gains accrued to one percent of the population.

So in terms of this synthetic approach, both for the U.S. being strong at home but also worldwide, how do you see the balance? Or how do you think we can manage the balance between fiscal responsibility, which is, of course, very necessary, but also attention to the most vulnerable, the poorest segments of both American population and worldwide population, and the need still to strengthen this recovery, to strengthen employment, which remains a key issue?

**SECRETARY CLINTON:** Well, that's a very important and complex question. And I'll answer it in this way because I think you have posed a very stark choice. It's the choice that President Obama and other leaders have had to be making every day. How much stimulus, how much restraint, how much to stimulate employment directly, how much to try to invest in larger kinds of job creation entities such as the stimulus in high-speed rail or whatever it might be. It's a – getting it right is not easy. And the fact that Ben Bernanke, the chairman of the Federal Reserve, specialized in the Depression came in very handy because you can understand how you can get the balance wrong even with the best of intentions.

So I'll just make a few comments. One, I think it is really important for countries to be focused on stimulating long-term sustainable employment. And in the Recovery Act which was passed last year, there are some very big investments in clean energy technology, high-speed rail, and the like, that will not bear fruit for a long time, probably, but are absolutely necessary to be made. If the United States does not once again become the leading innovation nation, it's hard to know where we're going to find the jobs that we have to produce for people. And yet if we do it wrong, or we do it artificially as in some countries are in my view doing, that will lead to protectionism.

We had a very frank conversation, led by Secretary Geithner, with our Chinese friends in Beijing. They see a very stark problem. They have tens of millions of people they're still trying to get out of absolute poverty, so they want to have an innovation agenda that would in effect capture companies' intellectual property and require companies to operate inside China in a way that could undermine the long-term success of those companies. So we say no, that's not a good way to do it. But the debate about how to do this is going to be front and center of international economic dialogue.

I also believe you put your finger on one of the biggest international problems we have. And I'll just – this is my opinion; I'm not speaking for the Administration so I will preface that with a very clear caveat. The rich are not paying their fair share in any nation that is facing the kind of employment issues, whether it's individuals, corporate, whatever the taxation forms are. And I go back to the question about Brazil. Brazil has the highest tax-to-GDP rate in the Western Hemisphere. And guess what? It's growing like crazy. And the rich are getting richer, but they're pulling people out of poverty. There is a certain formula there that used to work for us until we abandoned it – to our regret, in my opinion.

So my view is that you have to get many countries to increase their public revenue collections in order to make investments that will make them richer over the long run. You have to work hard on the innovation new technology agenda to try to create new forms of jobs. You have to strike the right balance, which is not easy, and different countries probably require different approaches between stimulus and restraint. I think you have to, even during crisis periods, look at big works projects in order to employ people. But it's difficult to do that in some of the advanced countries because the kinds of jobs that those work projects produce are not always the jobs that people are willing to take.



And one of the things that benefited the United States dramatically in the '90s and the first decade of this century was immigration. I mean, we filled a lot of jobs that really fueled the economy as a lot of our population aged. And so immigration has to be somehow in the mix, but it is becoming an increasingly volatile subject, not just here but everywhere. So there is no, like, one perfect formula. But we know the elements that are necessary. And trying to get that right balance is very challenging.

And I think that we have to also work on changing attitudes, and that requires leadership. We need a robust market economy that is truly as free as possible everywhere but with appropriate and effective regulation everywhere. And we need rich people everywhere to understand that many of them benefited greatly by the investments of prior generations in their own families or their own countries and that they have to be part of helping to keep that growth rate and that economic progress going for future generations.

And we have to change attitudes among individuals. Nick Kristof wrote a column last week sometime talking about how a lot of really poor people around the world have money but they don't choose to spend it on educating their children. And he talked about one family in a poor African village that had enough money to pay the \$10-a-month cell phone bill for the husband and the wife but not enough money to keep their son in school. So we have to have leaders in countries and companies and religions who focus on the needs of children, the next generation, because educating kids, keeping them healthy, family planning, these are all part of dealing with the long-term economic imbalance in the world.

And then obviously, there are specific issues on currency and the like. But on a sort of broad stroke, I think leaders are trying to balance all of these competing considerations and I think that our country is pulling out but we're still going to face a large unemployment figure for a long time. And what we're doing now has to help whittle that down for the future.

**MODERATOR:** Madam Secretary, before we adjourn the meeting and I thank you formally, on behalf of the gender-challenged people here today who do not roll their eyes – (laughter) – at the idea of women's empowerment or leave you alone to raise the issue, I'm going to come back to it by sharing with you and with our friends out here something that Secretary Albright said from that chair two days ago. She was recounting a conversation with her eight-year-old granddaughter, who basically said, "Grandma, what's the big deal about you having been Secretary of State? I thought women were always Secretary of State." (Laughter.)

**SECRETARY CLINTON:** In her lifetime, that was true, isn't it? (Laughter.)

**MODERATOR:** Well, there's poor Colin, but never mind. (Laughter.)

In any event, please join me in thanking the Secretary for being with us. (Applause.)

**THE PRESIDENT'S 2010 NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY • Advancing Our Interests: Actions in Support of the President's National Security Strategy • General James L. Jones, National Security Advisor**

**Foreign Press Center Briefing, Washington, DC. May 27, 2010**



**GEN JONES:** Jose, thank you very much for your introduction. Thank you, Neil, for – and everyone here at the Foreign Press Center for the opportunity to join you again. I think this is my second or third presentation, so I'm looking forward to it.

Ladies and gentlemen, 16 months ago on the steps of the U.S. Capitol, President Obama took the oath of office in his inaugural address and delivered a message for the world to absorb. And he said, and I quote, "From the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born, know that America is a friend of each nation and

every man, woman, and child who seeks a future with peace and dignity, and that we are ready to lead once more," unquote.

Since then, in word and deed, the President and this Administration have worked to fulfill this summons to leadership. Today, the President's National Security Strategy formalizes this vision with a very comprehensive approach that advances our interests, including the security of, obviously, the American people, the growing economy, support for our common values, and an international order that can address 21st century challenges, which, as we all know now, are diverse, asymmetric in many ways, and unrelenting.

This National Security Strategy is one of national renewal and global leadership, and it advances our interests by building the sources of American strength and influence and shaping a world that is more peaceful and certainly more prosperous. With the strategy, we're making it clear that America will meet this century's challenges. So today, I'd like to offer a brief overview of the thinking that shaped this strategy, the vision that the President challenges to fulfill, and our strategic approach to doing so.

First, we must deal with the world as it is, and this strategy is guided by a clear-eyed understanding of our strategic environment, the world as it is today. This is a time of sweeping change. Two decades since the end of the Cold War, the free flow of information, people and trade continues to accelerate at an unprecedented pace. Events far beyond our nation's shores now impact our safety, our security, and prosperity, and that of our allies and friends alike in ways that we could not have imagined just a few years ago.

This interconnection comes with extraordinary promise and it reinforces many of our innate strengths, our openness, our diversity, our dynamism, our ingenuity, and our dedication to our goals and aspirations. But this interconnection also comes with the perils of global challenges that do not respect borders – global networks of terrorists and criminals, threats in space and cyberspace, the degrading climate and technologies with increasing destructive power.

In addition, the international architecture of the 20th century, designed for another time, is buckling under the weight of these new threats. As a consequence, it has been difficult to forge the cooperative approach as necessary to prevent states from flouting international norms and agreements. This strategy recognizes the changes required in

order to be successful in the new environment of the 21st century. And that is the world that we seek.

As we have throughout our history, Americans must rise to this moment with a strategy that builds the sources of our strength and our influence and helps shape a world of greater security and prosperity. So our strategic approach, therefore, includes several very important elements. The first is rebuilding our nation, our foundation; recognizing that our national security begins at home, that the center of our efforts is a commitment to renew and revitalize our economy.

As we ensure that our recovery is broad and sustained, we are attempting to lay the foundation for the long-term growth of our economy and the competitiveness of our citizens. American innovation must be the foundation of American power, because at no time in human history has a nation of diminished economic vitality maintained its military and political primacy.

Second, comprehensive engagement; because no one nation can meet global challenges alone, we will pursue comprehensive engagement around the world. We will strengthen old alliances. We will build new partnerships with emerging centers of influence in every region. And we will push for institutions that are more capable of responding to the challenges of our time.

Third, promoting a just and sustainable international order; we must strengthen the rules-based international system where the rights and responsibilities of all nations and their people are upheld, and where nations strive by meeting their responsibilities and face appropriate consequences when they don't.

Fourth, strengthening and integrating national capabilities; going forward, there should be no doubt the United States of America will continue to underwrite global security. We will do so through our military advantage and we will do so through our wide-ranging commitments to allies, partners, and institutions. However, we must balance and integrate our military might with a whole-of-government approach. Our diplomacy and development capabilities must be modernized and our civilian expeditionary capacity strengthened to support the full breadth of our priorities. And our intelligence and Homeland Security efforts must be integrated with our National Security priorities and those of our allies, our friends, and our partners.

For example, we have ramped up our civilian capacity in both Iraq and Afghanistan and are investing in new development capabilities to help our partners help themselves. We are strengthening coordination among our intelligence, law enforcement, and Homeland Security agencies. And we have integrated planning at the White House by merging our National Security and Homeland Security Councils last year.

A word on advancing American interests: The progress and positive action in each element of this strategic approach will advance America's national interest. First, with regard to security, we have an enduring national interest in the security of the United States, its citizens, and the U.S. allies and partners. With regard to prosperity, we have an enduring national interest in a strong, innovative, and growing U.S. economy and an open international economic system that promotes opportunity and prosperity for everyone.

With regard to values, we have an enduring national interest in respecting universal values both at home and around the world. And with regard to international order, we have an enduring national interest in an international order that promotes peace, security, and an opportunity through stronger cooperation to meet global challenges.

So let me now address how our strategy advances each of these interests. First, with regard to advancing our security, there is no greater priority than the safety and security

of our people. For nearly a decade, our nation has been at war with a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. This is part of a broad multinational effort that is right and just, and we will be unwavering in our commitment to the security of our people, our allies, and our friends.

Going forward, America's armed forces and our dedicated men and women in uniform will continue to defend our nation and underwrite global security. To advance our security and that of our allies and partners, this strategy focuses on a number of points.

First, ending the war in Iraq through a responsible transition to an Iraq that is sovereign, stable, and self-reliant, and that is on track. Second, pursuing a focused strategy to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al-Qaida and its violent extremist affiliates in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and elsewhere in the world. Third, stopping the spread of nuclear and biological weapons and securing vulnerable nuclear materials that may be adrift in the world.

Fourth, pursuing a strategy to secure and protect against a full range of threats and hazards to our communities and to enhance our resilience as a nation. And fifth, advancing peace, security, and opportunity in the greater Middle East to include efforts to seek a two-state solution that ensures Israel's security and achieves Palestinian statehood and an Iran that meets its international obligations. Sixth, by investing and building the capacity of partner states to ensure that they are able to provide security governance and basic services. And lastly, protecting and securing cyberspace while safeguarding privacy and civil liberties.

With regard to advancing our prosperity, even as we ensure that our economic recovery is broad and sustained, we will continue to lay the foundation for the long-term growth of our economy and competitiveness of our citizens in a global economy. To advance economic growth and promote an open international economic system, this National Security Strategy focuses on strengthening education and the skills of our workforce to enable us to compete in a global economy of vastly increased mobility and interdependence.

Transforming our energy economy to power, new industries reduce our dependence on foreign oil and address climate change. And reestablishing American leadership in science, technology, engineering and math, and expanding educational exchanges to forge new knowledge and partnerships. And reducing the federal deficit, spending taxpayer money wisely, and engaging allies and partners to share burdens for our collective security.

And in working with partners, including through the G-20, to end the old cycle of economic boom and bust and promote growth that is balanced and sustained in the United States and elsewhere in the world. And lastly, faster, sustainable, and more inclusive development that accelerates economic progress in emerging economies.

With regard to advancing universal values, America will not impose any system of government on another country, but our long-term security and prosperity depends on our steady support for universal values. Time and again, our values have proven to be our best national security asset. To advance values that are universal, this strategy focuses on promoting these values through the power of our example by living them at home, including through our fidelity to the rule of law and our rejection of practices such as torture.

By supporting those who seek to exercise universal rights abroad, for instance, through our engagement of civil society and efforts to expand and protect the free access of information. And by investing in the capacity of emerging democracies so they can build more durable institutions. And by advancing the dignity that comes through development by pursuing global health, food security, and assistance in humanitarian emergencies such as we did in Haiti.

With regard to advancing a just and sustainable international order, just as we did after World War II, the United States must take the lead in shaping an international architecture that can galvanize collective action to address our global challenges. To develop a just and sustainable international order that can address global challenges, this part of the strategy focuses on ensuring strong alliances which are the foundations of U.S., regional, and global security in Europe, in Asia, the Americas, and in the Middle East and Africa by constantly cultivating and strengthening these indispensable partnerships and deepening coordination and cooperation. By expanding cooperation with 21st century centers of influence such as Russia, with which we have reset relations, we've agreed to a new START arms control treaty and forged cooperation on issues ranging from Afghanistan to Iran.

India, with which our growing relationship will be one of the defining partnerships of the 21st century. And China, with which we have forged a Strategic and Economic Dialogue to advance mutual interest on areas such as global economic recovery and nonproliferation. And by strengthening institutions for cooperation, including the United Nations, regional organizations such as NATO, international financial institutions, and by reforming the international economic architecture and making the G-20 the premiere forum for international economic cooperation, and by leveraging American leadership to sustain broad international cooperation to address global issues. Cooperation is not an end in itself; it must achieve results.

And that is what we've pursued over the past 16 months. For instance, we have taken comprehensive action to strengthen the nonproliferation regime, including a UN Security Council resolution last September that embraced the President's Prague agenda, the Nuclear Security Summit here in Washington in which 47 nations agreed to a work plan to secure vulnerable nuclear materials, and our efforts to hold nations that break the rules accountable. For instance, through the UN Security Council resolution that imposed the toughest nonproliferation sanctions to date on North Korea last year and our current efforts to hold Iran accountable.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have pursued a broader international effort to combat climate change, beginning with the Copenhagen Accord, which, for the first time, secures commitments from all major economies to reduce their emissions. And together with our G-20 partners, we've embraced the agenda of balanced and sustainable growth, securing unprecedented international cooperation to work towards global economic recovery.

At this moment of sweeping change, this strategy of national renewal and global leadership will build the source of America's strength and influence and shape a world that's more peaceful and more prosperous. Many difficult challenges lie ahead, but the United States will emerge stronger from this time of testing.

I know that you have many questions, but let me anticipate one and that would be: In what ways is this strategy different from all of the others that preceded it? Well, some examples of that would be that within this strategy is a broad interpretation of national security recognizing the extent to which the economy, education, energy, science and technology and such other topics as immigration have increasingly central roles in our national security, as well as the role of the private sector, nongovernmental organizations, and the American people themselves.

The integration of our Homeland Security and National Security Strategies was also a pivotal decision that contributed to the articulation of this strategy. This is the first National Security Strategy since the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security to address security issues in an inclusive way. Emphasis on building and integrating all of our National Security capabilities, we must maintain our military

advantage, but we place new emphasis on strengthening our nonmilitary capabilities to address challenges – development, diplomacy, intelligence, and law enforcement.

The plan to concentrate our military resources on the enemies of the United States, defeating al-Qaida and its affiliates rather than a more broadly defined war against a tactic which is terrorism, a clear prioritization of and strategy for halting the spread of nuclear weapons, it is grounded in the international nonproliferation regime. These are well-articulated in the strategy. And a detailed plan to use diplomacy, economic development, and engagement to build constructive relations to the Muslim world is an essential feature of our thinking.

This is the first National Security Strategy to highlight the importance of cyber security. It embraces the 21st century power dynamics and the first deliberate strategy for building constructive ties with emerging centers of influence, including by elevating the role of the G-20 as the focal point for international economic cooperation. And the core premise that the promotion of human rights and democracy are core national interests. We lead on behalf of those efforts, above all, through the power of our own example, as I mentioned earlier.

And lastly, within the National Security Strategy, a new focus on climate as a core National Security interest, including our global efforts coming out of Copenhagen to advance a framework where all major economies pursue emissions reductions.

So this is just a few of the unique features I think that we're seeing in a National Security Strategy for the first time, and with that, I thank you for your attention and I'll be happy to take some of your questions.

**MODERATOR:** Thank you very much, sir. Why don't we start right up here in the front row with Andrei.

Before we get started, since we have so many journalists and let's try to get as many questions as possible, keep the questions to the point and we're not going to have any follow-ups. So let's get as many as we can.

**QUESTION:** Okay. Thank you. Andrei Sitov from TASS from Russia. Thank you, sir, for coming and thanks to our friends at the FPC for doing this.

I appreciate the positive nature, forward-looking nature of the new strategy, but I wanted to ask you, are there any redlines that you laid down in the strategy that you don't want to be crossed, including in the economic and financial field that you emphasized? And how can Russia as a partner help the U.S. to see that those lines are not crossed? Thank you.

**GEN JONES:** Well, I mean, the – in the strategy itself, I mean, the redlines are implied by the text. Obviously, nations are going to do what's necessary to protect the security of their citizens, and all nations reserve the right to act on behalf of the welfare of that citizenry.

But the relationship that I cited with Russia is one of the positive developments of our experience and the President's experience in office. And we are working – we work – every single day, it seems like I'm talking on the telephone to my counterpart or the Secretary of State with hers, and the President and President Medvedev talk on a regular basis.

So we work through these issues respecting each other's priorities depending on the issue, respecting each other's redlines, to use your example, and we find – we've found ways of accommodation that gets us to a common point, as we did in START and as we're doing today as we speak on some of the other issues that we're handling – on Iran in

particular. So this is an aspect of the type of engagement that we hope to implement not only in one or two countries, but with all countries that we deal with.

**MODERATOR:** Let's take somebody towards the back. How about Michael? Wait for the microphone, please.

**QUESTION:** Mike Evans from the London Times. How important a priority is it going to be to deal with the – what you might call "homegrown" terrorism in this country?

**GEN JONES:** Well, I think this is an example, a clear example of the wisdom of combining homeland security and national security and making a seamless National Security Council that embraces both of those priorities. Obviously, this is going to be a high priority and the appropriate agencies are at work. We are devoting an awful lot of attention to this, obviously as some incidences have shown that we need to focus on this issue. There is great international cooperation ongoing, most recently with Pakistan, but with other countries, the sharing of information and intelligence through law enforcement agencies is multiplying. The security that we bring – the security focus that we bring to our means of mass transportation are obviously being watched carefully, not only here but elsewhere in the world. So this is an issue that we are watching carefully, just as we're watching carefully terrorist activities outside of our borders.

**MODERATOR:** Let's switch to this side of the room. How about our Romanian colleague?

**QUESTION:** Nicolae Melinescu from Romanian Television. Sir, Romania is going to part of the nuclear defense. How could you see its role within the enlarged deterrence which the U.S. is preparing to implement? Thank you very much.

**GEN JONES:** Thank you. We're very much looking to the visit of the foreign minister next week. And our engagement with Romania bilaterally and also through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is one of the bright spots of our multilateral engagements and our bilateral engagements. We expect that, and know that, Romania has always been extremely helpful to us in many different ways, not only to NATO but also to the United States specifically and ISAF in Afghanistan. And so we look forward to this visit very much and we appreciate Romanian cooperation on all of the important issues that we discuss with them. Thank you.

**MODERATOR:** How about our colleague from Kyodo News right here in the middle.

**QUESTION:** Oh, thank you. Yushin Sugita from Kyodo News. Thank you for this opportunity. The strategy says that the need to modernize the alliance between U.S. and Japan and U.S. and Korea – can you elaborate that what is done and what has to be done, including the recent shakings between – about the Okinawa basing issues between U.S. and Japan?

**GEN JONES:** Well, the regional aspects of our multilateral engagements and alliance have been strong for many, many years. And every now and then, there are events that happen that remind us that this is still a very dangerous part of the world. North Korea, of course, has reminded us of this fact. And that causes us to reengage with our friends and allies as to our preparedness. Are we surprised by anything? Was there – is there a better cooperation that needs to be had in the way of information sharing, intelligence gathering? Is our disposition of forces appropriate to the threats that we might face? And of course, as we discuss now, what is the proper response to the obvious – in response to the tragedy of the sinking of the South Korean ship and the loss of so many lives?

So our two presidents have been talking to one another. We have admired the way President Lee has handled the situation and his strong leadership and patience and

forbearance in a very, very difficult time. And these types of situations tend to reinforce our greater regional discussions on mutual security issues. So we constantly adjust. We react to the events of our times, and we do what we have to do to protect our countries.

**MODERATOR:** Let's go back to our Korean colleague there in the back. Yes, to ask a follow-up question. Thank you.

**QUESTION:** Thank you. Yonhap News Agency, South Korea. Can you elaborate on the multiple measures you mentioned against North Korea? You mentioned international security strategy report. And also, based on the talks between Secretary Clinton and Chinese officials, do you expect China will support the effort by South Korea and the United States to sanction – condemn North Korea at the UN Security Council? Thank you very much.

**GEN JONES:** Well, Secretary Clinton has just returned to the United States from her trip, as you know. And in fact, after I leave here, we will be having a meeting at the White House where Secretary Clinton will present her observations from her trip. So it's too early to answer that question except to say, of course, that in our bilateral discussions with China on a number of issues, we hope that the Chinese Government will certainly do the right thing in the face of the evidence that's presented.

**MODERATOR:** I think we need a little balance here. How about Joyce? We need a woman's voice here. (Laughter.)

**GEN JONES:** Oh, that of balance. (Laughter.)

**MODERATOR:** Yeah, that kind. (Laughter.)

**QUESTION:** Hi, General. Joyce Karam with Al Hayat newspaper. I want to ask you on something you mentioned here on the strategy about strengthening the partnership with countries like Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia, mainly to enable our militaries and defense system to work together more effectively. Can you elaborate a little bit on this? And specifically, how would you like this defense cooperation to play in regards to the Iranian – countering the Iranian ambitions in the region?

**GEN JONES:** Sure. Well, unless and until Iran chooses to demonstrate to the world that it has nothing but peaceful intentions with regard to their use of nuclear energy, it will be important for the United States and the friends and allies that you just mentioned to make sure that our people are secure.

There are three things that should be avoided if we can. And Iran has the capacity to solve this problem any day that it wishes to do so. Now, the first is that the nations that you just mentioned, including ourselves, reject the idea that Iran should be capable of developing nuclear weapons. That's point one. Point two is that this development of nuclear weapons would undoubtedly trigger a nuclear arms race in that very part of the world that you just talked about in the Middle East. And point three is if Iran developed the technology to produce nuclear weapons, there is great fear that this particular country would export that technology to non-state actors. And then the world as we know it would be infinitely in greater danger.

And so the obvious things that we have to do with regard to friends and allies is to make sure that while we try to discourage Iran and why we leave the door open to Iran to walk back through it and do the right thing with regard to not only the Tehran research reactor proposal but also demonstrating conclusively its desire to use nuclear power only for peaceful use, then we have to take other considerations into action. And that's precisely what is meant by our National Security Strategy statement with regard to the region.



**MODERATOR:** How about our German colleague right here on the end.

**QUESTION:** Thank you. Markus Ziener, German newspaper Handelsblatt. Looking into this new strategy, you're putting a lot of emphasis on the economic issues and the role the economy is playing for maintaining the leadership of the United States. So I'm now wondering, given the huge deficit of the U.S. and given the money that has been pumped into the economy, how much at threat is the security and position of the U.S. because of that?

**GENERAL JONES:** Mm-hmm. Well, it's a – this is a 21st century problem and it's one that we're going to have to deal with. And the President is very clear-eyed about the importance of managing the deficit and recovering from this dangerous situation that has potential long-term consequences. We're going to have to, as the President says, show national discipline in how we spend our money and how we use our resources, to use them wisely. We're going to have to, because of the globalized nature of our economies and the linkages, make sure that we work with other countries so that it's not – this is not just a U.S. problem. It's, as you know, a multinational problem. But we are clear-eyed on the idea that a strong economy and a strong domestic situation is absolutely essential in order to be effective elsewhere in the world.

**MODERATOR:** Let's take somebody in the back, as far back as we – oh, this gentleman on the right. Right over here. Yeah.

**QUESTION:** Hi. Thank you. Devin Symons, Nippon TV. Can you speak specifically to the need to maintain a sustainable working relationship with Japan, as mentioned in the NSS? You spoke a little bit about Korea but –

**GENERAL JONES:** Sure.

**QUESTION:** -- specifically on Japan. And does that mean that there's a necessity to maintain the bases on Okinawa or – specifically to that?

**GENERAL JONES:** Yeah. Well, obviously, the long history between the United States and Japan continues to be one of the cornerstones of any national security strategy or international security strategy, certainly in that part of the world. And we are in discussions right now with Japan as to the basing options of the situation that we have with Okinawa and the Marines on Okinawa. Some of you may know that I have spent some time on Okinawa in my younger days. But this is a very strategic issue. It's one that affects our collective security. And it's one that I'm confident that the United States and Japan are in the process of working out to the satisfaction of everyone, not just to the two countries but also the region.

It is an important strategic base. It does need to be modified in some ways. We have to respect the realities of the population growth on Okinawa. We have to respect the fact that air bases in the middle of densely populated areas should find other alternatives and we're perfectly willing to do that. And we have been in very, very good discussion with the Japanese Government. And I expect that in the not too distant future, the Japanese Government will have some announcements to make, which we will support.

**MODERATOR:** We have time for one more question, and our Pakistani colleague, Ali, looks quite anxious. If we get him a microphone –

**GENERAL JONES:** I can take a couple more, if you'd like.

**PARTICIPANT:** I don't think you can, sir.

**GENERAL JONES:** Pardon me?

**PARTICIPANT:** I don't think so. (Laughter.)

**GENERAL JONES:** I do. (Laughter.)

**MODERATOR:** Don't put me in the middle. (Laughter.)

**GENERAL JONES:** Let me put it another way. I will take a couple more. (Laughter.)

**MODERATOR:** This is what we do, sir. Ali.

**QUESTION:** All right. Thank you, General Jones. I'm Ali Imran from Associated Press of Pakistan. And you just talked about cooperation from Pakistan and emphasized engagement with your allies in the fight against al-Qaida and other affiliates, but there have been stories in the American media about your trip to Pakistan last week. And according to these stories, perhaps you were pressing Pakistan and as reported that Pakistan was also threatened, you know, into moving against militants more aggressively and broadening the fight. So what is the nature of U.S.-Pakistan relationship and cooperation in the fight against terrorism?

**GENERAL JONES:** Well, as you know, we've also had some very, very good bilateral discussions on the strategic partnership with Pakistan, here in Washington, and a constant dialogue with Pakistani authorities on this – the nature of this relationship.

Fundamentally, the United States has committed itself to a long-term strategy with regard to that part of the world, including Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, to try to bring a better life to the people of the region, to try to end terrorism and – in all shapes and forms directed against all different peoples. And we have plotted the Pakistani efforts to date with regard to their renewed efforts that began last year: their success in the Swat Valley, their success in South Waziristan. We have rejoiced in the trust and confidence that's been built between our two militaries: the increased sharing of information and intelligence, the cooperation that we've received on law enforcement issues, the very prompt response we got as a result of the Times Square incident.

My trip was simply to underscore, at the request of the President, that we take this particular relationship extremely seriously, that we are very serious when we say we have long-term – we will make long-term commitments to Pakistan to help the economy, to help revitalization of the infrastructure, to bring investment from not only our business community but international investment, to help the instruments of governance wherever possible. But we wanted to also impress upon our friends that it is essential that terrorism be defeated and that wherever there are the presence of terrorists or the perception of presence of terrorists, that it's in the interest of Pakistan to not only repudiate the existence of those kinds of organizations but also at the appropriate time to rid Pakistan of those – of that presence. And we offer friendship and assistance, cooperation in every way possible in order to do that and in order to bring – help bring a better future to Pakistan.

So I want to state very clearly that this was a meeting among friends, one that we have regularly. We are now to the point where we can exchange very direct information and very direct messages, which have the – I think the – hopefully the benefit of adding vitality to the relationship. So we are pleased with the progress and we hope that Pakistan is pleased with the progress and we hope that we will continue down a successful road so that we can get on with the idea and the concept and the commitment that we've made to help Pakistan economically and in many other ways.

**MODERATOR:** Okay, we're on bonus time now, so (inaudible). (Laughter.)

**GENERAL JONES:** I said I'd take two more. So I got one more.

**MODERATOR:** Okay, we'll go right here. Go ahead, Sonia.

**QUESTION:** Okay, thank you. Thank you, General. You didn't talk about Latin America, and my question is specifically on Venezuela. There are some concerns here in the U.S. because of the close ties between Venezuela and Iran. And I would like to know, there are – what does that represent for you in terms of your national strategy, security strategy? I would like to know what does that mean for the U.S.? What is the U.S. position? What are their concerns? Thank you.

**GENERAL JONES:** Thank you. Well, the U.S. does intend to pay a great deal of attention to our own hemisphere. And the many, many discussions we've had with President Lula in Brazil, President Uribe in Colombia, and Panama, and Mexico, we have an engagement strategy that I think is deep and robust and certainly focuses on the real problems that face us.

We think that Iran has, in fact, conducted activities in that part of the world that are not helpful. We have shared those activities with our friends. We hope that the neighboring – that the countries in the region will use their influence on people like President Chavez to see exactly the dangerous path that playing Iran's game – the game that Iran is playing right now has potential consequences that affect not just the region but affect the world order with regard to nuclear proliferation, as I highlighted earlier. So we hope that like-minded nations of influence will exert that influence on countries like Venezuela so that we can have a more concentrated and focused approach to these very serious problems.

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.

**MODERATOR:** Thank you.

#### **NEW U.S. STRATEGY FOCUSES ON MANAGING THREATS • By DAVID E. SANGER and PETER BAKER. *The New York Times*, May 27, 2010**

WASHINGTON — President Obama's first formal national security strategy describes a coming era in which the United States will have to learn to live within its limits — a world in which two wars cannot be sustained for much longer and the rising powers inevitably begin to erode some elements of American influence around the globe.

Mr. Obama argues that the United States is confident enough to live with that reality and that after nearly a decade of organizing its national security policy around counterterrorism, it must return to a broader agenda. "The burdens of a young century cannot fall on American shoulders alone," Mr. Obama says in the introduction of the strategy released on Thursday. "Indeed, our adversaries would like to see America sap our strength by overextending our power."

But this document, required by Congress, is also bound to reignite the argument over the way Mr. Obama has redirected American foreign policy over the past 16 months. His critics — inclined to portray him as too eager to apologize for America's failings and too willing to surrender the nation's role as the single, indispensable superpower — are likely to extract elements of the new document to bolster their case.

But to Mr. Obama's team, it is a document that recognizes the world as it is and ends a era of illusion in which Washington confused projecting power with achieving results. "We

are no less powerful,” Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton said Thursday at the Brookings Institution. “We are shifting from mostly direct application and exercise of American power,” she said, to one of indirection, that requires patience and partners, and gets results more slowly.

“In a world like this, American leadership isn’t needed less,” she said. “It is needed more. And the simple fact is that no global problem can be solved without us.”

The 52-page document tries to blend the idealism of Mr. Obama’s campaign promises with the realities of his confrontations with a fractious and threatening world. It describes an America “hardened by war” and “disciplined by a devastating economic crisis,” and it concludes that the United States cannot sustain extended wars in both Iraq and Afghanistan while fulfilling other commitments.

That line is just one of many subtle slaps at former President George W. Bush. While Mr. Bush’s 2002 document explicitly said the United States would never allow the rise of a rival superpower, Mr. Obama argues that America faces no real military competitor but that global power is increasingly diffuse.

Both Mrs. Clinton and the principal author of the report, Ben Rhodes, a deputy national security adviser, argued that Mr. Obama recognized that reality when he pressed the Group of 8 nations — the largest industrialized economies and Russia — to cede more power to the Group of 20, which includes fast-emerging powers like China, India and Brazil.

Although Mr. Obama has put a renewed focus on the Afghan war and increased C.I.A. drone strikes against militants in Pakistan, the strategy rejects Mr. Bush’s focus on counterterrorism as the organizing principle of security policy. Those efforts “to counter violent extremism” — Mr. Obama avoids the word Islamic — “are only one element of our strategic environment and cannot define America’s engagement with the world.”

He goes on to argue that “the gravest danger to the American people and global security continues to come from weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons.” But he also dwells on cyberthreats, climate change and America’s dependence on fossil fuels as fundamental national security issues, issues that received little or no attention in Mr. Bush’s document, although Mr. Bush focused on them more in his second term.

“It is a rather dramatic departure from the most recent prior national security strategy,” said Susan E. Rice, the ambassador to the United Nations.

The differences are clearest in a section on the use of force, which makes no mention of pre-emptive attacks against countries or nonstate actors who may pose a threat, as Mr. Bush did in 2002. But Mr. Obama does not explicitly rule out striking first.

“While the use of force is sometimes necessary, we will exhaust other options before war whenever we can, and carefully weigh the costs and risks of action against the costs and risks of inaction,” he says. When it is necessary, he adds, “we will seek broad international support.”

Mr. Bush’s aides had said they would not seek a “permission slip” for such actions. Mr. Obama phrases that idea more softly, saying “the United States must reserve the right to act unilaterally if necessary to defend our nation and our interests, yet we will also seek to adhere to standards that govern the use of force.”

Mr. Obama also defines security more broadly than his predecessor did, making the case, for example, that reducing the budget deficit is critical to sustaining American power. Mrs. Clinton focused much of her Brookings presentation on that theme, arguing that American

commanders and diplomats see the long-term national debt as one of the largest threats to American influence and to the country's ability to project power abroad.

Still, for all its self-conscious rejection of the Bush era, the document reflects elements of continuity. For example, it does not disavow using the state secrets act to withhold information from courts in terrorism cases, although it argues for prudent and limited use. It also insists that "we will maintain the military superiority that has secured our country, and underpinned global security, for decades."

It does not make the spread of democracy the priority that Mr. Bush did, but it embraces the goal more robustly than is typical for Mr. Obama, a reflection of a struggle in his administration about how to handle a topic so associated with Mr. Bush. Mr. Obama commits to "welcoming all peaceful democratic movements" and to "supporting the development of institutions within fragile democracies."

Neil MacFarquhar contributed reporting from the United Nations.

**OBAMA'S NEW SECURITY STRATEGY BREAKS WITH BUSH • By ANNE GEARAN and ROBERT BURNS, The Associated Press. Published in *The Washington Post*, Wednesday, May 26, 2010; 8:33 PM**

WASHINGTON -- President Barack Obama is breaking with the go-it-alone Bush years in a new strategy for keeping the nation safe, counting more on U.S. allies to tackle terrorism and other global problems. It's an approach that already has proved tricky in practice.

The administration's National Security Strategy, a summary of which was obtained Wednesday by The Associated Press, also for the first time adds homegrown terrorism to the familiar menu of threats facing the nation - international terror, nuclear weapons proliferation, economic instability, global climate change and an erosion of democratic freedoms abroad.

From mustering NATO forces for Afghanistan to corralling support to pressure North Korea to give up its illicit nuclear weapons program, the U.S. has sometimes struggled in leaning on friends and allies in recent years. Still, the new strategy breaks with some previous administrations in putting heavy emphasis on the value of global cooperation, developing wider security partnerships and helping other nations provide for their own defense.

In his first 16 months in office, Obama has pursued a strategy of gentle persuasion, sometimes summarized as "engagement."

His administration has attended more closely to ties with Europe, sought a "reset" of relations with Russia, pushed harder to restart stalled Mideast peace talks and consulted widely on a roadmap for defeating the Taliban in Afghanistan.

Obama's critics, however, assert that his policies have largely failed, given the continued defiance of Iran and North Korea on nuclear development, the stalemate in Afghanistan and rising worries about terrorist attacks at home.

Presidents use their national security strategy to set broad goals and priorities for keeping Americans safe. But the document isn't an academic exercise: it has far-reaching effects on spending, defense policies and security strategy.

For example, President George W. Bush's 2002 strategy document spelled out a doctrine of pre-emptive war.

"We must be prepared to stop rogue states and their terrorist clients before they are able to threaten or use weapons of mass destruction against the United States and our allies and friends," the Bush strategy said, with Iraq clearly in mind. The following year U.S. forces invaded, launching a conflict that has lasted far longer and cost far more money and lives than Bush intended.

Obama's new strategy is expected to move away from that doctrine.

Bush, too, valued alliances. But some of his action, especially the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, ripped holes in the fabric of U.S. foreign relations, particularly in Europe.

Bush pursued what he called "a distinctly American internationalism." One of the central pillars of his national security strategy - spelled out in 2002 and repeated in 2006 - was a call to "strengthen alliances to defeat global terrorism" and to "work with others to defuse regional conflict."

But because of Iraq, the indefinite detention of terror suspects at Guantanamo Bay and other actions, the Bush administration estranged some traditional allies - a situation exploited by U.S. foes.

John Brennan, the White House's top counterterrorism adviser, said Wednesday that the administration would add combating homegrown terrorism to its strategy.

Terror attacks like the shooting at Fort Hood last year, which killed 13 bystanders, as well as the failed Times Square bombing on May 1, have thrust homegrown terrorism into the spotlight, and U.S. citizens like Najibullah Zazi and David Headley have been charged with plotting terror attacks.

Obama's revision would be the first time that homegrown terror threats were a pillar of the document. President Bill Clinton did not mention domestic terrorism in his 1998 revision, even though the Oklahoma City bombing had occurred just three years earlier. Bush made only passing reference to homegrown terrorism in his final national security strategy, published in 2006.

Brennan, speaking at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, did not disclose specifics of Obama's strategy paper. But he hinted at its philosophical underpinnings. Denouncing al-Qaida as "a small band of cowards," Brennan said the U.S. would defeat the militant network while maintaining "our values as a nation."

Obama's document enshrines principles and policies that he has advocated since his election campaign. It will be the foundation for a National Military Strategy document, due soon.

The strategy makes it clear the United States intends to maintain the world's most powerful military, with unsurpassed reach and capability despite being stretched by two wars and other challenges.

Obama touched on many of the themes in the new strategy during a commencement address Saturday to graduating cadets at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y.

The U.S. must shape a world order relying as much on the persuasiveness of its diplomacy as the might of its military, he said. All hands are required to solve the world's newest threats: terrorism, the spread of nuclear weapons, climate change and feeding and caring for a growing world population, he added.

Obama said the men and women who wear America's uniform cannot bear that responsibility by themselves. "The rest of us must do our part," he said.

"The burdens of this century cannot fall on our soldiers alone. It also cannot fall on American shoulders alone."

## **SECURING THE HOMELAND BY RENEWING AMERICA'S STRENGTHS, RESILIENCE, AND VALUES • SPEAKER: JOHN BRENNAN, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HOMELAND SECURITY AND COUNTERTERRORISM**

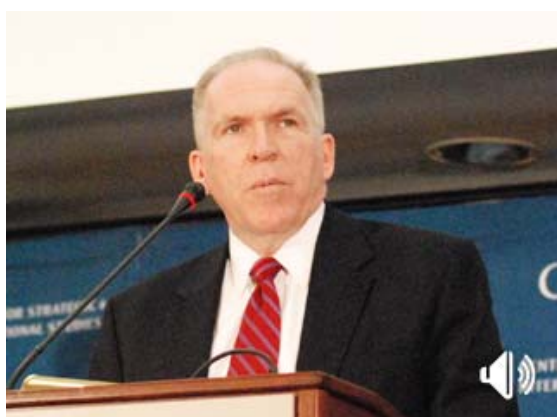
**Welcome and moderator: John Hamre, President and Ceo, CSIS  
Center for Strategic and International Studies, Wednesday, May 26, 2010**

**JOHN HAMRE:** Good morning, everybody. Welcome. We're glad to have you here. Can't imagine that you all have this much free time, so there must be something going on today here. So we're delighted to welcome John Brennan. This is actually a very, very important week.

The administration's going to be releasing its national security strategy and we get a chance to think about it a little bit in advance and start thinking through the issues that we know that the administration's been wrestling with. And we're fortunate to have John to help lead us through that. So first, John, thank you. Thank you for taking the time to join us.

You all know John Brennan. John's a long-time civil servant. He's been helping this country with its security for 30 years, long time with the Central Intelligence Agency, rose to become the head of the National Counterterrorism Center, really its founding director. And now, of course, serves as the assistant to the president for homeland security and for counterterrorism.

And in that capacity, he is completely in the center of all things important right now. So we are – we're delighted that he would be willing to take the time to join us and we know it's going to be very interesting. John, I want to thank you for your service. The country needs you and we're very grateful that you're willing to do this and join us today. We'll turn to you. Thank you. John Brennan, ladies and gentlemen. (Applause.)



**JOHN BRENNAN:** Thank you very much, John. And I would like to take a moment to express my appreciation to CSIS for inviting me back. You invited me here a little after six months, I think, when I came into this administration and I greatly appreciate the invitation to return.

I also want to extend a note of appreciation to John Hamre, who I think last month, celebrated your 10th anniversary here at CSIS. You truly are, John, one of the modern icons of public service after so many years working for the government and continuing that tradition here at CSIS. I think we all owe you a note of thanks for what you have done for the security of this country. So thank you very much, John. (Applause.)

As I said, last summer, I stood here a little over six months into President Obama's administration. At that time, I outlined the emerging contours of the president's

approach to meeting two related, but distinct, challenges. First, the immediate near-term challenge of destroying al-Qaida and its extremist affiliates. And second, the longer-term challenge of confronting violent extremism generally, including the political, economic and social forces that can sometimes put individuals on the path toward militancy.

This approach is now being formalized as the president releases his national security strategy tomorrow. This strategy aims to renew American leadership in the 21st century by rebuilding the fundamental sources of American strength, security, prosperity and influence in the world.

It reflects the positive vision of American leadership and partnership with other nations that President Obama has consistently articulated since taking office. It provides the intellectual framework for the national security policies and programs already being implemented and it reflects the president's vision for confronting the most daunting challenges of our time while seizing the opportunities of an increasingly globalized world.

The president's strategy is guided by national interests that are clear and enduring. First and foremost, security. The security of the United States, its citizens and U.S. allies and partners is and always will be paramount. Prosperity, a strong, innovative and growing U.S. economy in an open international economic system that promotes opportunity and prosperity is essential to our future and the future of generations yet to come.

Values – respect for universal values at home and around the world defines who we are and what we hold dear and an international order that promotes peace, security and opportunity through stronger cooperation as this is the only path that will allow us to meet global challenges. The strategy lays out a clear path for advancing these interests and shaping the world we seek.

As the president stated this weekend at West Point, we must build the sources of America's strength and influence and shape a world that's more peaceful and more prosperous. As the president explained, this includes rebuilding the foundation of American strength and prosperity at home.

It includes comprehensive engagement with the world. It includes building and integrating the capabilities we need to succeed, capabilities that span the military, diplomatic, development, intelligence, law enforcement and homeland security fronts. And it includes strengthening multilateral institutions and norms so that shared challenges can be met through collective action.

Tomorrow, Secretary of State Clinton and the president's national security advisor, Gen. Jones, will discuss how this strategy will advance our interests around the world. Today, as the president's principal advisor on homeland security and counterterrorism, I want to address how this national security strategy is guiding our efforts to secure our homeland by renewing America's strength, resilience and values.

The president's strategy is absolutely clear about the threat we face. Our enemy is not terrorism because terrorism is but a tactic. Our enemy is not terror because terror is a state of mind and, as Americans, we refuse to live in fear. Nor do we describe our enemy as jihadists or Islamists because jihad is holy struggle, a legitimate tenet of Islam meaning to purify oneself of one's community.

And there is nothing holy or legitimate or Islamic about murdering innocent men, women and children. Indeed, characterizing our adversaries this way would actually be counterproductive. It would play into the false perception that they are religious leaders



defending a holy cause when in fact, they are nothing more than murderers, including the murder of thousands upon thousands of Muslims.

This is why Muslim leaders around the world have spoken out forcefully and often at great risk to their own lives to reject al-Qaida and violent extremism. And frankly, their condemnations often do not get the recognition they deserve, including from the media.

Moreover, describing our enemy in religious terms would lend credence to the lie propagated by al-Qaida and its affiliates to justify terrorism, that the United States is somehow at war against Islam. The reality, of course, is that we have never been and will never be at war with Islam. After all, Islam, like so many faiths, is part of America.

Instead, the president's strategy is clear and precise. Our enemy is al-Qaida and its terrorist affiliates. For it was al-Qaida who attacked us so viciously on 9/11 and whose desire to attack the United States, our allies and our partners remains undiminished. And it is its affiliates who have taken up al-Qaida's call to arms against the United States and other parts of the world.

The president's strategy is unequivocal with regard to our posture. The United States of America is at war. We are at war against al-Qaida and its terrorist affiliates. That is why the president is responsibly ending the war in Iraq, which had nothing to do with 9/11 and why he has refocused our efforts on Afghanistan, where al-Qaida continues to plot from the tribal regions along the border with Pakistan and inside of Pakistan.

We have a clear mission. We will not simply degrade al-Qaida's capabilities or simply prevent terrorist attacks against our country or citizens. We will not merely respond after the fact, after an attack that has been attempted. Instead, the United States will disrupt, dismantle and ensure a lasting defeat of al-Qaida and violent extremist affiliates.

And the president's strategy outlines how we will achieve this mission and keep Americans safe. We will deny al-Qaida and its affiliates safe haven. We will secure the world's most dangerous weapons, especially the nuclear materials that al-Qaida seeks and would surely use against us. We will build positive partnerships with Muslim communities around the world. And most importantly, we will protect our homeland.

The president's strategy describes how this effort will require a broad, sustained and integrated campaign that harnesses every tool of American power, military and civilian, kinetic and diplomatic. And indeed, the value, the power of our values and partnerships with other nations and institutions.

In other words, this is a multi-departmental, multinational and indeed, a multi-generational effort. To deny al-Qaida and its affiliates safe haven, we will take the fight to al-Qaida and its extremist affiliates wherever they plot and train in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia and beyond.

We are not only delivering severe blows against the leadership of al-Qaida and its affiliates, we are helping those governments build their capacity to provide for their own security, to help them root out the al-Qaida cancer that has manifested itself within their borders and to help them prevent it from returning.

In all our efforts, we will exercise force prudently, recognizing that we often need to use a scalpel and not a hammer. When we know of terrorists who are plotting against us, we have a responsibility to take action to defend ourselves and we will do so. At the same time, an action that eliminates a single terrorist but causes civilian casualties can,

in fact, inflame local populations and create far more problems – a tactical success but a strategic failure.

So we need to ensure that our actions are more precise and more accurate than ever before. This is something that President Obama not only expects, but demands. Moreover, we know that al-Qaida seeks to overextend the United States and drain us militarily, financially and psychologically.

I have seen this through my own experience covering al-Qaida and terrorism over the past two decades. But we will not let that happen. We will always carefully weigh the costs and risks of action against the costs and risks of inaction. And whenever possible, we will join with allies and partners to share the burdens of our collective security.

As a result of our actions, we have subjected the core of al-Qaida, led by Osama bin Laden, to unprecedented pressure. In the last 16 months alone, hundreds of al-Qaida fighters and affiliates, including many senior leaders, have been captured or killed. We have inflicted significant damage on their capabilities.

Today, it is harder than ever for this network to move, raise funds, recruit, train and plot attacks, all of which makes the American people safer. These successes, though, have not come easily. They are a result of the service and sacrifices of men and women who risk their lives to protect ours in our intelligence, military, law enforcement, first responder and homeland security communities.

On many occasions, they have made the ultimate sacrifice, such as those seven CIA officers who gave their lives at a remote outpost in Afghanistan last December and all those brave servicemen and women who give their lives on a daily basis in Afghanistan. So as a nation, let us always debate our counterterrorism efforts, but let us never forget or fail to support the extraordinary men and women who serve to keep us safe.

The president's national security strategy also outlines how we will strengthen other tools of American power which will help us meet many challenges. This includes addressing the political, economic and social forces that can make some people fall victim to the cancer of violent extremism.

Through a renewed commitment to diplomacy and in contrast to terrorists who offer the false hope of change through violence, we seek to show that legitimate grievances can be resolved peacefully through democratic institutions and dialogue, whether in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan or between Israelis and Palestinians, where the continuing conflict undermines moderates and strengthens extremists across the region.

Through new partnerships to promote development in places like Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia, we are working to foster good governance, reduce corruption and improve education, health and basic services, all of which helps undermine the forces that can put the disillusioned and disposed on the path to militancy.

And in all our efforts, the president's national security strategy makes clear that we must demonstrate and communicate America's vision of opportunity and progress in contrast with the bankrupt and evil ideology of violent extremists who exploit the people they purport to serve. Communicating America's vision is what the president did in his speech nearly one year ago in Cairo, which has inspired new partnerships between the United States and Muslim communities around the world in development, education, health and science, and technology.

And to secure our homeland, we will continue the never-ending work of strengthening our defenses here at home. In light of the failed attacks over Detroit and in Times Square, it is easy to forget, but it bears repeating. Since 9/11, we have made enormous progress as a nation in securing our homeland.

And under President Obama, we have built upon the work of the previous administration and have accelerated efforts in many areas. We have improved security at our borders, airports and other ports of entry. We have strengthened intelligence, information sharing and cooperation at all levels, federal, state and local and timely analysis of threat information, even as events over the past year highlight the need to do better.

Today, our defenses are stronger and the United States presents a much less hospitable environment for terrorists to carry out their cowardly attacks than ever before. Indeed, since January of last year, more than 20 individuals in the United States have been arrested and charged with terrorism crimes, their plans and plots disrupted.

This includes Najibullah Zazi, who planned to attack the New York subway system in what could have been the worst terrorist attack on our soil since 9/11. Each of these arrests represents the coordinated work of countless intelligence, homeland security and law enforcement personnel who have saved countless American lives.

But these successes notwithstanding, indeed, perhaps because of them, it is clear that we are now facing a new phase of the terrorist threat. We have long recognized that al-Qaida, its affiliates and those who subscribe to its murderous ideology are a resilient, resourceful and determined enemy.

We have made it harder for them to recruit and train so they are increasingly relying on recruits with little training. We have strengthened our defenses against massive, sophisticated attacks on our homeland, so they are attempting attacks with little sophistication, but with very lethal intent.

They are seeking foot soldiers who might slip past our defenses by defying the traditional profile of a terrorist like Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, the Nigerian behind the failed attack over Detroit. Knowing that the United States and our allies have strengthened aviation screening in recent years, they equipped Abdulmutallab with explosives sewn into his clothes that were less likely to be detected by a traditional metal detector.

Knowing that it is harder to penetrate America's defenses, the likes of al-Qaida's Adam Gadahan and Anwar al-Awlaki in Yemen, American citizens who understand our society, our strengths as well as our vulnerabilities, not only plan attacks, they use the Internet and extremist websites to exhort people already living in the United States to take up arms and launch terrorist attacks from within.

Indeed, we have seen an increasing number of individuals here in the United States become captivated by extremist ideologies or causes. Somali Americans from Minnesota traveling to fight in Somalia, the five Virginia men who went to Pakistan seeking terrorist training, David Headley, the Chicago man charged with helping to plan the Mumbai attacks, the Pennsylvania woman, JihadJane, charged with conspiring to murder a Danish cartoonist.

The president's national security strategy explicitly recognizes the threat to the United States posed by individuals radicalized here at home. We have seen individuals, including U.S. citizens, armed with their U.S. passports, travel easily to extremist safe havens and return to America, their deadly plans disrupted by coordinated intelligence and law enforcement.

Daniel Patrick Boyd of North Carolina, who with others, conspired to murder U.S. military personnel and Najibullah Zazi, who received his instruction in bomb making in Pakistan. Unfortunately, we were unable to thwart Faisal Shahzad, accused of attempting to set off the car bomb in Times Square.

We have also seen individuals, including American citizens, apparently inspired by al-Qaida's ideology, take matters into their own hands. Again, we have disrupted a number of these plots, including individuals in Texas and Illinois charged with planning to blow up buildings.

Tragically, we were unable to prevent others. The murder of the military recruiter in Arkansas last year and the senseless slaughter of 13 innocent Americans at Fort Hood. I would note that it is telling that many of these individuals felt the need to hide their activities from their families and communities, likely because they knew they would be condemned by those very same communities.

Indeed, in a number of these cases, it has been families and communities concerned for their loved ones who have brought these individuals to the attention of law enforcement. This is a new phase to the terrorist threat, no longer limited to coordinated, sophisticated, 9/11-style attacks, but expanding to single individuals attempting to carry out relatively unsophisticated attacks.

As our enemy adapts and evolves their tactics, so must we constantly adapt and evolve ours, not in a mad rush driven by fear, but in a thoughtful and reasoned way that enhances our security and further delegitimizes the actions of our enemy. To this end, a key theme of the president's national security strategy is how we will remain a strong and resilient nation here at home.

As a strong and resilient nation, we will adapt. This is the first national security strategy of any president that integrates homeland security as part of a broader national security strategy. At the White House, we have already merged the staffs of the National Security Council, Homeland Security Council and parts of the National Economic Council into a single, integrated national security staff that includes new offices, including cybersecurity.

This has fostered a more rapid, coordinated and effective federal response to the range of challenges we face, from the failed attacks in Detroit and Times Square to H1N1, to the earthquake in Haiti and to the oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico. To ensure we are constantly adapting and improving and to address any deficiencies or weaknesses in the system, the president has ordered immediate reviews and corrective actions in the immediate aftermath of attempted attacks.

Since the attack at Fort Hood, we have taken numerous steps, including improving communication between the Department of Defense and Justice regarding disaffected individuals in our armed forces. Following the failed attack of Detroit, we have strengthened the analysis and integration of intelligence and have enhanced aviation security, including a new, real-time, threat-based screening policy for all international flights to the United States.

And as the investigation into the Times Square plot continues, so will our constant effort to assess and bolster our defenses. As a strong and resilient nation, we will prepare. Building on the unprecedented investments we have already made in homeland security, we will continue to reduce our vulnerabilities.

We will work with allies and partners to constantly enhance security at our borders, airports and ports. We will move forward with our new initiative to respond

faster to bioterrorism. We will work with the private sector to enhance the security of our critical infrastructure, including cyberspace, which underpins our economy, our society and our security.

Even as we do everything in our government to prevent attacks, we recognize the indispensable role played by ordinary citizens. We have seen this before in the heroic passengers aboard Flight 93 on 9/11, who saved countless lives on the ground in Washington, the response personnel who prevented even more lives from being lost at Fort Hood, the passengers who restrained Abdulmutallab on Flight 253 over Detroit and the street vendors in Times Square who alerted the police when they saw something suspicious.

This is the kind of vigilance that can keep us safe. As a strong and resilient nation, we will strengthen our ability to withstand any disruption, whatever the cause. For even as we put unrelenting pressure on the enemy, even as we strive to thwart 100 percent of the plots against us, we know that terrorists are striving to succeed only once.

And we must be honest with ourselves. No nation, no matter how powerful, can prevent every threat from coming to fruition. And in America, a free and open society of 300 million people, the task becomes even more difficult as our adversaries increasingly rely on individual terrorists and lone individuals inspired by al-Qaida's hateful ideology.

But rather than a reason to fear, this must be a catalyst for action. Instead of simply resigning ourselves to what appears to some to be the inevitable, we must improve our preparedness and plan for all contingencies. Instead of simply building defensive walls, we must bolster our ability at all levels, federal, state, local and the private sector to withstand disruptions, maintain operations and recover quickly.

Instead of giving into fear and paralysis, which is the goal of terrorists, we must resolve, as a nation, as a people, that we will go forward with confidence, that we will resist succumbing to overreaction, especially to failed attacks and not magnify these perpetrators beyond the despicable miscreants that they are, that as a proud and strong nation, we will not cower in the face of a small band of cowards who hide in the shadows and send others to their slaughter and to slaughter the innocents.

As the president said at West Point, we must remember who we are. We are Americans who have overcome great challenges before and will do so again and again and again. This leads to the final way we can remain a strong and resilient nation, by staying true to who we are a people, including the values that remain one of the greatest sources of our strength at home and abroad.

The president's national security strategy speaks to this directly. More than any other action we have taken, the power of America's example has spread freedom and democracy worldwide. That is why we must always seek to uphold these values, not just when it is easy but also when it is hard.

Indeed, fidelity to our values and to end practices that were counterproductive to our counterterrorism efforts is why the president banned brutal methods of interrogation. Fidelity to our values and to deny violent extremists one of their most potent recruitment tools is why the president ordered that the prison at Guantanamo Bay be closed and that we bring detainees to justice.

As we work to close that prison, including any transfers or release of detainees, we will be guided by one priority above all others, the security of the American people. And we must not forget what military leaders and national security experts from across the political spectrum have said for years, that the detention facility at Guantanamo has served as a powerful recruiting tool for our enemies and must be closed.

Going forward, our challenge is to find policies that are consistent with both the rule of law and our values as a nation that allow us to optimize both our security and our liberties, that give us the maximum flexibility to collect intelligence and protect the American people and keep us one step ahead of the involving threats to our nation.

Fortunately, we can do all this because we have the strongest, most effective legal system in the world. Nonetheless, we are constantly working to strengthen existing tools and capabilities to develop new ones consistent with our constitutional and legal obligations that will further empower our counterterrorism professionals to protect the American people.

For example, we have created an interagency team called the High Value Detainee Interrogation Group that we deploy overseas as well as domestically to gather valuable intelligence from terrorist suspects like Zazi, Abdulmutallab and Shahzad. We do this as rapidly as possible and in accordance with the law.

We're also working to develop an effective and durable legal framework for the war against al-Qaida. Effective by providing our counterterrorism professionals with the tools they need to prevent terrorist suspects from threatening us again and durable, able to withstand legal challenge in our courts as well as to have the support of both political parties so that it can be sustained in future administrations.

We continue to work with the Congress on such a framework, but its broad elements are clear, as is the need for flexibility so we can apply the right tools in the right circumstances. Such a framework must include, perhaps, our single most effective tool for prosecuting, convicting and sentencing suspected terrorists, our Article III courts.

Since 9/11, prosecutions in our federal courts have resulted in hundreds of convictions of terrorists, including life sentences for the likes of Zacarias Moussaoui, the so-called 20th 9/11 hijacker, as well as the shoe bomber, Richard Reid. In addition, the federal criminal justice system has enabled us to disrupt ongoing plots.

And as recent cases have demonstrated, prosecuting suspects in federal courts does not impede intelligence collection. To the contrary, our federal criminal justice system has proven to be an effective intelligence collection tool, helping the government to obtain information about the plans, intentions, tactics, recruitment, training and organizational structures of terrorist organization, including al-Qaida and its affiliates.

Just as we cannot cast aside our federal courts because we are at war, we must also recognize that there are other options for bringing terrorists to justice, including military commissions.

Last year, we worked with Congress to reform and strengthen these commissions, restoring their legitimacy as an appropriate venue for trying terrorist suspects and turning those commissions into an effective tool. We have announced plans to try several individuals by these reformed commissions, even as we remain mindful that commissions are not without limitations that circumscribe the instances in which they cannot be used.

As such, commissions should remain one of the tools of any framework, but is to be used as needed and as appropriate. A durable and effective legal framework must also recognize that some detainees currently in our custody at Guantanamo cannot be released because they pose a grave threat to the United States. But, for a variety of reasons, they also cannot be prosecuted. This is, as the president has said, the toughest issue we face.

So we continue to work to ensure that any prolonged detention includes fair procedures, periodic review, and is subject to constitutional checks and balances. Finally, remaining faithful to our values requires something else – that we never surrender the diversity and tolerance and openness to different cultures and faiths that define us as Americans. Several months ago, I had the opportunity to speak at NYU, where I was hosted by the university's Islamic center and the Islamic Law Students Association.

The audience included people of many faiths – Muslim, Christian, Jew, Hindu and Sikh. I was there to have a dialogue on how, as Americans, we can all work together to keep our country safe from the terrorists who seek to drive us apart. After I was finished speaking, person after person stood up to share their perspective and to ask their questions. Mothers and fathers, religious leaders and students, recent immigrants and American citizens by birth. One after another, they spoke of how they love this country and of all the opportunities it has afforded them and their families.

But they also spoke of their concerns, that their fellow Americans, and at times, their own government, may see them as a threat to American security, rather than a part of the American family. One man, a father, explained that his 21-year-old son, an American born and raised, who was subjected to extra security every time he boards a plane, now feels disenfranchised in his own country. This is the challenge we face.

Even more than the attacks al-Qaida and its violent affiliates unleash and the blood they spill, they seek to strike at the very essence of who we are as Americans by replacing our hard-won confidence with fear and replacing our tolerance with suspicion; by turning our great diversity from a source of strength into a source of division; by causing us to undermine the laws and values that have been a source of our strength and our influence throughout the world; by turning a nation whose global leadership has meant greater security and prosperity for people in every corner of the globe into a nation that retreats from the world stage and abandons allies and partners.

That is what al-Qaida and its allies want – to achieve their goals by turning us into something we are not. But that is something they can never achieve, because only the people of America can change who we are, as a nation. Al-Qaida can sew explosives into their clothes or park an SUV with explosives on a busy street. But it is our choice to react with panic or resolve. They can seek to recruit people already living among us, but it is our choice to subject entire communities to suspicion, or to support those communities in reaching the disaffected before they turn to violence.

Terrorists may try to bring death to our cities, but it is our choice to either uphold the rule of law or chip away at it. They may strike our communities, but it is our choice to either respond wisely and effectively or lash out in ways that inflame entire regions and stoke the fires of the violent extremism. That is our choice. And with the strategy we are releasing tomorrow, President Obama and the administration offers our answer.

We will defeat al-Qaida and its affiliates; we will build a strong and resilient nation; and we will remain faithful to our values that make us Americans. That is how we will prevail in this fight. That is how we will keep our country safe. And I want to thank you for the opportunity to talk to you this morning. Thank you. (Applause.)

**MR. NELSON:** Well, Mr. Brennan, thank you very much for those remarks, and of course, as John Hamre said, it's an honor to have you here and it's a privilege for the president and you to unveil these parts of the security strategy here at CSIS. We're now going to go into the question-and-answer period. I get to have a little bit of an iron fist here.

This will be a question-and-answer period, not a statement-and-answer period, so please keep – there will be microphones around the room. When you get a microphone – first, raise your hand. When a microphone comes to you, please state your name and your affiliation if you have one. And then please provide a succinct question and then Mr. Brennan will answer it from there. So go ahead and kick it off. We'll start right here in the front.

**Q:** Thank you very much. Katherine Harris, Fox News Channel. Mr. Brennan, who do you consider the greater threat today: Osama bin Laden or the American cleric Anwar al-Awlaki?

**MR. BRENNAN:** I think they both present a threat to American security in different ways. Osama bin Laden, who has built up al-Qaida over the past two decades is the titular head of that organization, and he is representative of the violence and the murderous agenda that al-Qaida holds. Clearly, the al-Qaida organization writ large is something that we are continuing to pound and to use all of our tools against.

But individuals like Anwar Awlaki, who recently released a video, demonstrated that his rhetoric is anything but peaceful. It's anything but Islamic. It is dedicated to murder and lashing out. So they both have the ability to inspire and to try to prey on those victims who believe that they are true Muslims. But they're anything but.

**Q:** (Off mike.)

**MR. BRENNAN:** I'm saying that they both represent a threat in different ways. Mr. Awlaki is in Yemen. We know that al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula poses a serious threat in the peninsula, as well as abroad. We know of his involvement in exhortations to individuals to carry out attacks. So to me, they're both dangers; they're both threats and we will address them appropriately.

**MR. NELSON:** All right, thank you. Let's go to the gentleman here in the gray suit and the beard.

**Q:** Thank you. Spencer Ackerman with the Washington Independent. What would you say to those who would say that you've already compromised American values by pursuing indefinite detention without charge?

**MR. BRENNAN:** When this administration came in, in January of last year, we dealt with a number of legacy situations that we wanted to make sure that we were able to deal with appropriately, without compromising the security of the American people. I think as everybody recognizes, on both sides of the political spectrum, that the situation in Guantanamo is a very, very difficult and challenging one.

And I think as – even though the president said he was determined to close Guantanamo within one year, it still remains open because the president is determined not to do anything that would compromise America's security. It is something that we are working very closely with the Congress on. We are trying to do things in a very thoughtful manner. We have transferred about 50 of those detainees over the past year-and-a-half and we're continuing to look at their situations there. But this is a challenge that we need to look at from a policy perspective, from a legal perspective, as well as from a security perspective.

**MR. NELSON:** Okay, I'm going to try to go back and forth. Over here in the front row. Some of you might have to navigate around the podium to – (chuckles).

**Q:** Hello, my name is Carie LeMack with Global Survivors Network. In light of last week's intel committee report and the 9/11 Commission chairs' – Kean and Hamilton's –



testimony about the adequacy of the support from the president and the administration for the DNI, how do you plan to go about selecting a new DNI? And do you believe that you're going to be able to have an administration give the support for that person to be able to adequately perform the duties and be able to coordinate across intel communities?

**MR. BRENNAN:** The DNI structure, now, has been in place for five years. There have been three individuals who have, I think, performed very well in those positions. What we're doing right now is ensuring that we're able to optimize the contribution of the Office of the DNI. We believe that it is critically important to make sure that the 16 organizations, or so, that make up the intelligence community are going to be integrated well and orchestrated well.

And that's what the DNI's role is. We're confident that we're going to be able to do this in the future, going forward. Denny Blair is a true public servant to this country and he did a great job. And what we need to do now is to go forward and to build upon the progress he has made. But this is something that President Obama and the administration is taking very seriously. There's no diminishment of the importance of intelligence for this administration, and we want to make sure the DNI's role is clear and it's able to optimize the contributions that the intelligence community makes on a daily basis.

**MR. NELSON:** Okay, I'll just stay – you can stay down here if you want. You want to go in the front row over here? Okay.

**Q:** Thank you very much. I'm Josh Rogan, Foreign Policy magazine. You talked a little bit about the changes in the national security bureaucracy that the administration is already making. I'm wondering if there are any new changes that will be required as part of the document you're releasing tomorrow, or is this just a summary of the changes that you already have planned and ongoing? And secondly, you didn't mention democracy or human rights promotion as part of the national security strategy. Of course, this was a major pillar of the previous national security strategy, and I'm wondering if you could talk about why this administration seems to be deprioritizing those goals.

**MR. BRENNAN:** My portfolio, at the White House, is counterterrorism and homeland security, and what I was trying to do today is to herald some of those key themes that are going to be coming out in that national security strategy that will be released tomorrow. Secretary Clinton will be addressing a number of those international dimensions that you point out, and I don't want to take away any of the thunder that is coming out of that.

This document embodies that which has been part and parcel of this administration's policies, heretofore, and it also lays out the vision of where we're going in the future. So it's a combination of taking stock of what we have done and where we're going and the challenges that we yet face. But there will be other parts of the strategy that will address those issues that you raise.

**MR. NELSON:** Let's go back in the middle, with the pink shirt – sorry, peach shirt. (Chuckles.) Mr. Preble.

**Q:** It's Chris Preble at the Cato Institute. Sir, you mentioned, in terms of law enforcement, you mentioned, in terms of homeland security, what role does communication play in building a resilient society? Do you have a communication strategy with respect to terrorism, or even if not a published strategy, do you have best practices or terms or a way of talking about terrorism in the speeches that you give and the other speeches the administration gives on terrorism?

**MR. BRENNAN:** I think what we've tried to do, over the past 16 months or so, is to be very precise and careful in the terminology that we use. That's part of the content of the communications that we're trying to put forth. But there also is a comprehensive communications strategy to deal with issues like violent extremism. And we're trying to do that not just internationally, as evidenced by the president's speech in Cairo, but also engaging with the different departments and agencies here and engaging with the local communities so that we have that outreach.

So there is a communications strategy. It deals with content; it also deals with how we are communicating and interacting with these different elements. What I don't like to do is to try to just address the terrorism dimension of it, because terrorism is just the – is part of this continuum of radicalization, extremism and terrorism. What we need to make sure is that we're able to address a number of those upstream factors and conditions and influences that can lead to terrorism. So it is comprehensive and more of it is going to be laid out in this national security strategy that comes out tomorrow.

**MR. NELSON:** Let's go to the lady in the back with the green shirt, please.

**Q:** Kimberly Dozier with the Associated Press. Sir, the administration has acknowledged, over the past year, that there's been a doubling in drone strikes. It's also acknowledged the difficulties in closing Gitmo. Some of your critics say it seems it's become easier to kill terrorist suspects than to capture them and to deal with the consequences afterward. How do you answer that?

**MR. BRENNAN:** I think as I tried to explain in my remarks, what we need to do is use all the tools that are available to us to keep the American people safe. Sometimes, that requires us to be very proactive and to utilize the power that we have as a country, military and otherwise, so that we can strike those terrorists where they are hiding – where they're plotting and training – to prevent them from getting into a system that will bring them into the homeland.

At other times, though, it deals with capacity-building of other countries that we have partnered with. It also is enhancing our defenses here at home. I think we have captured a lot of terrorists over the last year – not just those that we've arrested here in the United States, but those that we have captured with the assistance, and in partnership with, other nations.

So I know that the media likes to highlight some of the reports that are coming out regarding kinetic strikes, but that is just one dimension. It is multidimensional. And I feel as though it's a robust and comprehensive program.

**Q:** If you'd care to share the numbers, I'm sure we'd all be willing to write it down.

**MR. BRENNAN:** There have been many, many terrorists who have been captured. (Laughter.)

**MR. NELSON:** Let's – this is where the moderator steps in. Arnaud, do you have a question?

**Q:** Arnaud de Borchgrave, CSIS. Mr. Brennan, I think we would agree that Pakistan is a major non-NATO ally, but as The New York Times reminded us this morning, it is also a country to the conspiracy theory born; and most people, even at a very high level, believe that 9/11 was a CIA/Mossad conspiracy. It's not a joke. We know that it goes to a very high level in that country. And I was wondering what can be done to counter that?

**MR. BRENNAN:** Well, I think conspiracy theories and hyperbole and misrepresentation of the facts is something that is not the domain of any single country. We see that, including in our country, mischaracterizations of the facts. It's unfortunate that a lot of individuals are prone to believing those conspiracy theorists. You know, there's the freedom of the press and speech, and unfortunately, a lot of those types of speech are highlighted in the media. And it is quite unfortunate that they're given more, I think, attention than they deserve.

We are working with the highest levels, as well as other levels, of the governments abroad. But it's not just government-to-government interaction. That's what it's so important to emphasize the building up of those educational systems abroad – so they're not prone to hearing these types of views that are far removed from reality. And we know that there are textbooks in different parts of the world that, at a very early age, individuals' views of the world is conditioned by those textbooks.

And this is something that we're trying to address. So it really is multigenerational, as well as multidimensional. And we have to interact with our partners, but at the same time, we have to think about the generations who are growing up in an environment where those conspiracy theories abound. And that's why it's so important that we have this public communications strategy in a very proactive and aggressive way to let people know that America is not trying to take over the world.

We're not an imperialist power. We're not trying to militarize our relationships with these countries. The United States has long been seen as the beacon of democracy and help, and what we need to do is to make sure that we emphasize that so that those individuals who are prone to those theorists are going to have a better opportunity to learn about the real world.

**MR. NELSON:** Okay, I'm going to go to the gentleman behind Arnaud, and then I'm going to go to a question over here, and then back to the middle and then back over.

**Q:** John McLaughlin, CSIS. Mr. Brennan, does the word "counterintelligence" appear in your new national intelligence strategy? If so, how do you see it in that? And how does it fit in more broadly with your whole portfolio at the White House?

**MR. BRENNAN:** Yeah, counterintelligence permeates my portfolio, from a homeland security and a counterterrorism perspective, and it does that both in a strategic and in a tactical sense. But we need to make sure that we are very mindful of what it is that's going to allow us to stop these attacks from taking place and to make our country strong and safe.

And we know that there are active efforts, not just by the nation states that we have traditionally tried to guard against, but also by those who are trying to gain information as a way to identify vulnerabilities. And we have to be mindful of that. This is something that is clearly embedded in this administration. I know you have worked long and hard at making sure that we're ever-mindful of that, because sometimes, those counterintelligence challenges we face are sub rosa, and are not, you know, at the top of our inbox.

And this is where, I think, the people who are working at the National Counterintelligence Executive, as well as the DNI has been a very strong proponent of that – FBI as well. Counterintelligence is something that I think has – the challenges have changed over time. And I think our counterintelligence establishment needs to adapt, as well. Because we're not facing the traditional, Cold War counterintelligence challenge; we're facing a much more, sort of, multi-headed beast that is out there.

**MR. NELSON:** Okay, on this side of the room. Eric, could you go?

**Q:** Eric Schmitt with The New York Times. Mr. Brennan, the Zazi case and the Shahzad case have exposed vulnerabilities in how potential terrorists operate within the United States. To what extent do you believe you need broader authorities to conduct domestic surveillance to identify and target these kinds of threats?

**MR. BRENNAN:** What we've tried to do is to make sure that we balance appropriately the need for security, but also recognition of the civil liberties and privacy rights that make this country great. What we've tried to do is increase our intelligence collection capabilities, particularly overseas, because both Shahzad and Najibullah Zazi obtained training at those training camps in Pakistan.

And so what we need to do is to try to modulate those intelligence-collection capabilities so that we might be able to pick that up. There is quite a bit of flow back and forth from, you know, other parts of the world to our country. Especially challenging is when people have U.S. passports – they're U.S. residency – that allows them to travel back and forth.

What we've tried to do, also, is to calibrate our system for watch-listing – the president ordered immediate reviews afterward – to highlight different traits, not based on profiling, but based on, sometimes, travel patterns, other types of things – indicators that might raise up to the surface those individuals that have been operating under the radar.

It is challenging here in the United States. We are a country of 300 million people. We have certain liberties and freedoms that we hold dear. So how can we raise up our ability to detect those individuals who are operating, sometimes alone or with a small group of cohorts, and are using the protections and the liberties of this country? And I think this is something that is worthwhile of debate. What else do we need to do, as a country, that will enhance our security, but, at the same time, hold true to those values that we cherish? It is a challenge.

**MR. NELSON:** We'll go to the gentleman in the gray suit in the middle here and then we'll go over to this side of the room.

**Q:** Thank you. I'm Reggie Dale with CSIS. You twice spoke of the political, economic and social forces that drive people to terrorism, and I'm wondering if that isn't a somewhat incomplete description. Are there not also religious, theological, ideological – you spoke of al-Qaida's ideology – and even psychological forces that drive people to terrorism?

**MR. BRENNAN:** There are many, many. And that was just a sampling of some of those factors. But you're absolutely right. There are educational; there are cultural; there are some that purport to be religious. There are very disturbing views that are espoused and perpetuated in certain environments that I think we need to take stock of. I think we need to do more work on the behavioral science side.

What is it that will actually drive somebody who has a family, who has a job, to carry out an attack designed to kill many, as well as themselves? And I think there are some – there's more work we need to do to understand the psychology behind terrorism. But a lot of times, the psychology is affected by the environment that has those political, social, economic factors that contribute to that. So the counterterrorism community has developed significantly since 9/11. There are a number of elements within the intelligence, law enforcement, homeland security communities that are looking at this phenomenon. And there's no single cause for terrorism. There's no single profile for a terrorist.

There are individuals who don't have any education to those who have doctorates and engineering degrees. So what we need to do is to try and dissect it and not have a single prism that we look at terrorists through. We need to understand its multidimensional nature. But you're absolutely right; I agree with you.

**MR. NELSON:** Okay, let's go to a question over here. You already had one – the back in the white shirt, please. Sorry, the lady in the back, sorry – with the pink shirt.

**Q:** Mina al-Arabia with the Sharq al-Awsat newspaper. I'd like to ask you about Iraq. You mentioned that you're withdrawing responsibility from Iraq, that the events in Iraq had nothing to do with 9/11. However, there are al-Qaida members, or at least networks that say they are affiliated to al-Qaida. Do you see them as posing no threat – that the effort is to withdraw responsibly from Iraq and that this is an internal, domestic matter? Or how do you assess the threat from al-Qaida in Iraq? Thank you.

**MR. BRENNAN:** Al-Qaida in Iraq poses a serious threat. We have been able to have a number of successes against them, their leadership, over the past couple of months. We're continuing to work with our Iraqi partners to degrade them. Al-Qaida in Iraq bloomed in the aftermath of the fall of Saddam Hussein. It was able to take advantage of some of the political vacuums that took place there.

We know that they are named "al-Qaida in Iraq," they have a relationship with the broader al-Qaida family. This is something that we need to continue to work against. It does pose a threat, but we've been very pleased with the Iraqi security forces and how well they've been able to take the lead in prosecuting this effort against the terrorists in Iraq. So it is something that we need to stay on top of, and that's one of the things that we need to make sure we don't do, is to fall into a state of complacency, whether it be in Iraq or in the United States or other places.

This is something that continues to crop up, and even though we have made tremendous progress, they are continuing to be determined to carry out attacks, both against the United States, as well as against those governments, such as Iraq, that are trying to keep their people safe.

**MR. NELSON:** Okay, this will be the final question. The lady in the back in the white dress – yep, right back there.

**Q:** Sima Imaud with the Open Society Institute. Mr. Brennan, I'm really heartened by the government's change, in terms of the language usage of "jihadist" and "Islamist" and was similarly heartened by your talk at NYU in February. I wonder if there's been any thought about rethinking, frankly, the usage of the words "terrorism" and "terrorist," which, at present, seem to be defined by the government and the media as acts of violence exclusively perpetuated by Muslims.

**MR. NELSON:** WE have tried to expand the framework when we talk about terrorism and counterterrorism efforts, to include the concern we have about violent extremism, which is a more encompassing term, in many respects. Unfortunately, a number of these terms have become just part of our lexicon in the United States. What we can't do, though, is just to leave it at that one, single term.

We have to make sure we understand what we are talking about. Because the terrorists that are operating in Pakistan are different than the terrorists that are operating in the Sahel, in Africa and from places in Southeast Asia. There are common traits; there are common tactics that they use. But sometimes, the forces that fuel them are radically different. And we know that there are political forces – local political factors – that can contribute to the use of violence to achieve political objectives.

What we need to do is to understand those forces. Some of them can be addressed through political dialogue. There was the extensive use of terrorism in the North of Ireland. It was something that could be addressed, and we've been able to succeed, as far as bringing that conflict to a halt and to have them engage in a dialogue and political participation. However, al-Qaida – what is being perpetuated and propagated by bin Laden is not to build up something; it really is just to pull it down.

To me, that embodies and epitomizes the terrorist challenge that we face that can be, in some respects, existential in some areas, because they really are trying to just destroy our way of life, our people, our economy. And that's where we have to be particularly resilient. But I think in some of these other areas, we have to understand some of the dynamics that are at play. You know, the PLO, for many years, used terrorism to try to advance their agenda. It was only when they set it aside that we were able to deal with some of these issues that underlie those problems in a very rational manner.

For al-Qaida, though, there is no negotiating with them. We're not going to negotiate with al-Qaida; we're going to destroy that organization. It's going to take time, but we're going to do it. But there are other elements throughout the world that are using terrorism and violence to achieve local political objectives.

And I think we, as a country, need to look very carefully at those and to work with the governments and to understand the phenomenon better so that we can find a way to end it and so that those local problems and grievances are not prone, then, to being exploited by al-Qaida. Because that's what they try to do, is to go after those opportunities.

**MR. NELSON:** Well, that's great. Before we thank Mr. Brennan, please, everyone needs to remain seated for Mr. Brennan and his party to depart. But Mr. Brennan, thank you very much for your time and for the remarks and for sharing that with you. We really appreciate it. (Applause.)  
(END)



# NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

May 2010









## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Time and again in our Nation's history, Americans have risen to meet — and to shape — moments of transition. This must be one of those moments. We live in a time of sweeping change. The success of free nations, open markets, and social progress in recent decades has accelerated globalization on an unprecedented scale. This has opened the doors of opportunity around the globe, extended democracy to hundreds of millions of people, and made peace possible among the major powers. Yet globalization has also intensified the dangers we face — from international terrorism and the spread of deadly technologies, to economic upheaval and a changing climate.

For nearly a decade, our Nation has been at war with a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Even as we end one war in Iraq, our military has been called upon to renew our focus on Afghanistan as part of a commitment to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al-Qa'ida and its affiliates. This is part of a broad, multinational effort that is right and just, and we will be unwavering in our commitment to the security of our people, allies, and partners. Moreover, as we face multiple threats — from nations, nonstate actors, and failed states — we will maintain the military superiority that has secured our country, and underpinned global security, for decades.

Yet as we fight the wars in front of us, we must see the horizon beyond them — a world in which America is stronger, more secure, and is able to overcome our challenges while appealing to the aspirations of people around the world. To get there, we must pursue a strategy of national renewal and global leadership — a strategy that rebuilds the foundation of American strength and influence.

Our strategy starts by recognizing that our strength and influence abroad begins with the steps we take at home. We must grow our economy and reduce our deficit. We must educate our children to compete in an age where knowledge is capital, and the marketplace is global. We must develop the clean energy that can power new industry, unbind us from foreign oil, and preserve our planet. We must pursue science and research that enables discovery, and unlocks wonders as unforeseen to us today as the surface of the moon and the microchip were a century ago. Simply put, we must see American innovation as a foundation of American power.

We must also build and integrate the capabilities that can advance our interests, and the interests we share with other countries and peoples. Our Armed Forces will always be a cornerstone of our security, but they must be complemented. Our security also depends upon diplomats who can act in every corner of the world, from grand capitals to dangerous outposts; development

experts who can strengthen governance and support human dignity; and intelligence and law enforcement that can unravel plots, strengthen justice systems, and work seamlessly with other countries.

The burdens of a young century cannot fall on American shoulders alone — indeed, our adversaries would like to see America sap our strength by overextending our power. In the past, we have had the foresight to act judiciously and to avoid acting alone. We were part of the most powerful wartime coalition in human history through World War II, and stitched together a community of free nations and institutions to endure a Cold War. We are clear-eyed about the challenge of mobilizing collective action, and the shortfalls of our international system. But America has not succeeded by stepping outside the currents of international cooperation. We have succeeded by steering those currents in the direction of liberty and justice — so that nations thrive by meeting their responsibilities and face consequences when they don't.

To do so, we will be steadfast in strengthening those old alliances that have served us so well, while modernizing them to meet the challenges of a new century. As influence extends to more countries and capitals, we will build new and deeper partnerships in every region, and strengthen international standards and institutions. This engagement is no end in itself. The international order we seek is one that can resolve the challenges of our times — countering violent extremism and insurgency; stopping the spread of nuclear weapons and securing nuclear materials; combating a changing climate and sustaining global growth; helping countries feed themselves and care for their sick; resolving and preventing conflict, while also healing its wounds.

In all that we do, we will advocate for and advance the basic rights upon which our Nation was founded, and which peoples of every race and region have made their own. We promote these values by living them, including our commitment to the rule of law. We will strengthen international norms that protect these rights, and create space and support for those who resist repression. Our commitment to human dignity includes support for development, which is why we will fight poverty and corruption. And we reject the notion that lasting security and prosperity can be found by turning away from universal rights — democracy does not merely represent our better angels, it stands in opposition to aggression and injustice, and our support for universal rights is both fundamental to American leadership and a source of our strength in the world.

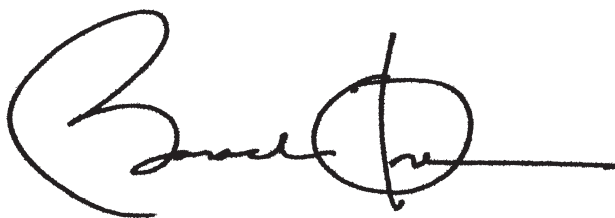
As a Nation made up of people from every race, region, faith, and culture, America will persist in promoting peace among different peoples and believes that democracy and individual empowerment need not come at the expense of cherished identities. Indeed, no nation should be better positioned to lead in an era of globalization than America — the Nation that helped bring globalization about, whose institutions are designed to prepare individuals to succeed in a competitive world, and whose people trace their roots to every country on the face of the Earth.

As a citizen, Senator, and President, I have always believed that America's greatest asset is its people — from the awe I felt as a child watching a space capsule pulled out of the Pacific, to the strength I drew from workers rebuilding their lives in Illinois, to the respect that I have for the generation of Americans who serve our country today. That is why I also believe that we must foster even deeper connections among Americans and peoples around the globe. Our long-term

security will come not from our ability to instill fear in other peoples, but through our capacity to speak to their hopes. And that work will best be done through the power of the decency and dignity of the American people — our troops and diplomats, but also our private sector, nongovernmental organizations, and citizens. All of us have a role to play.

From the birth of our liberty, America has had a faith in the future — a belief that where we're going is better than where we've been, even when the path ahead is uncertain. To fulfill that promise, generations of Americans have built upon the foundation of our forefathers — finding opportunity, fighting injustice, and forging a more perfect Union. We have also created webs of commerce, supported an international architecture of laws and institutions, and spilled American blood in foreign lands — not to build an empire, but to shape a world in which more individuals and nations could determine their own destiny, and live with the peace and dignity that they deserve.

In 2010, America is hardened by wars, and inspired by the servicemen and women who fight them. We are disciplined by a devastating economic crisis, and determined to see that its legacy is a new foundation for prosperity; and we are bound by a creed that has guided us at home, and served as a beacon to the world. America's greatness is not assured — each generation's place in history is a question unanswered. But even as we are tested by new challenges, the question of our future is not one that will be answered for us, it is one that will be answered by us. And in a young century whose trajectory is uncertain, America is ready to lead once more.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Barack Obama", with a large, stylized initial "B" and a circular flourish at the end.





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# I. Overview of National Security Strategy

At the dawn of the 21st century, the United States of America faces a broad and complex array of challenges to our national security. Just as America helped to determine the course of the 20th century, we must now build the sources of American strength and influence, and shape an international order capable of overcoming the challenges of the 21st century.

## **The World as It Is, A Strategy for the World We Seek**

To succeed, we must face the world as it is. The two decades since the end of the Cold War have been marked by both the promise and perils of change. The circle of peaceful democracies has expanded; the specter of nuclear war has lifted; major powers are at peace; the global economy has grown; commerce has stitched the fate of nations together; and more individuals can determine their own destiny. Yet these advances have been accompanied by persistent problems. Wars over ideology have given way to wars over religious, ethnic, and tribal identity; nuclear dangers have proliferated; inequality and economic instability have intensified; damage to our environment, food insecurity, and dangers to public health are increasingly shared; and the same tools that empower individuals to build enable them to destroy.

The dark side of this globalized world came to the forefront for the American people on September 11, 2001. The immediate threat demonstrated by the deadliest attacks ever launched upon American soil demanded strong and durable approaches to defend our homeland. In the years since, we have launched a war against al-Qa'ida and its affiliates, decided to fight a war in Iraq, and confronted a sweeping economic crisis. More broadly, though, we have wrestled with how to advance American interests in a world that has changed—a world in which the international architecture of the 20th century is buckling under the weight of new threats, the global economy has accelerated the competition facing our people and businesses, and the universal aspiration for freedom and dignity contends with new obstacles.

Our country possesses the attributes that have supported our leadership for decades—sturdy alliances, an unmatched military, the world's largest economy, a strong and evolving democracy, and a dynamic citizenry. Going forward, there should be no doubt: the United States of America will continue to underwrite global security—through our commitments to allies, partners, and institutions; our focus on defeating al-Qa'ida and its affiliates in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and around the globe; and our determination to deter aggression and prevent the proliferation of the world's most dangerous weapons. As we do, we must recognize that no one nation—no matter how powerful—can meet global challenges alone. As we did after World War II, America must prepare for the future, while forging cooperative approaches among nations that can yield results.

Our national security strategy is, therefore, focused on renewing American leadership so that we can more effectively advance our interests in the 21st century. We will do so by building upon the sources of our strength at home, while shaping an international order that can meet the challenges of our time. This strategy recognizes the fundamental connection between our national security, our national competitiveness, resilience, and moral example. And it reaffirms America's commitment to pursue our interests through an international system in which all nations have certain rights and responsibilities.



This will allow America to leverage our engagement abroad on behalf of a world in which individuals enjoy more freedom and opportunity, and nations have incentives to act responsibly, while facing consequences when they do not.

## **Renewing American Leadership—Building at Home, Shaping Abroad**

Our approach begins with a commitment to build a stronger foundation for American leadership, because what takes place within our borders will determine our strength and influence beyond them. This truth is only heightened in a world of greater interconnection—a world in which our prosperity is inextricably linked to global prosperity, our security can be directly challenged by developments across an ocean, and our actions are scrutinized as never before.

At the center of our efforts is a commitment to renew our economy, which serves as the wellspring of American power. The American people are now emerging from the most devastating recession that we have faced since the Great Depression. As we continue to act to ensure that our recovery is broad and sustained, we are also laying the foundation for the long term growth of our economy and competitiveness of our citizens. The investments that we have made in recovery are a part of a broader effort that will contribute to our strength: by providing a quality education for our children; enhancing science and innovation; transforming our energy economy to power new jobs and industries; lowering the cost of health care for our people and businesses; and reducing the Federal deficit.

Each of these steps will sustain America's ability to lead in a world where economic power and individual opportunity are more diffuse. These efforts are also tied to our commitment to secure a more resilient nation. Our recovery includes rebuilding an infrastructure that will be more secure and reliable in the face of terrorist threats and natural disasters. Our focus on education and science can ensure that the breakthroughs of tomorrow take place in the United States. Our development of new sources of energy will reduce our dependence on foreign oil. Our commitment to deficit reduction will discipline us to make hard choices, and to avoid overreach. These steps complement our efforts to integrate homeland security with national security; including seamless coordination among Federal, state, and local governments to prevent, protect against, and respond to threats and natural disasters.

Finally, the work to build a stronger foundation for our leadership within our borders recognizes that the most effective way for the United States of America to promote our values is to live them. America's commitment to democracy, human rights, and the rule of law are essential sources of our strength and influence in the world. They too must be cultivated by our rejection of actions like torture that are not in line with our values, by our commitment to pursue justice consistent with our Constitution, and by our steady determination to extend the promise of America to all of our citizens. America has always been a beacon to the peoples of the world when we ensure that the light of America's example burns bright.

Building this stronger foundation will support America's efforts to shape an international system that can meet the challenges of our time. In the aftermath of World War II, it was the United States that helped take the lead in constructing a new international architecture to keep the peace and advance prosperity—from NATO and the United Nations, to treaties that govern the laws and weapons of war; from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, to an expanding web of trade agreements. This



## I. OVERVIEW OF NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

architecture, despite its flaws, averted world war, enabled economic growth, and advanced human rights, while facilitating effective burden sharing among the United States, our allies, and partners.

Today, we need to be clear-eyed about the strengths and shortcomings of international institutions that were developed to deal with the challenges of an earlier time and the shortage of political will that has at times stymied the enforcement of international norms. Yet it would be destructive to both American national security and global security if the United States used the emergence of new challenges and the shortcomings of the international system as a reason to walk away from it. Instead, we must focus American engagement on strengthening international institutions and galvanizing the collective action that can serve common interests such as combating violent extremism; stopping the spread of nuclear weapons and securing nuclear materials; achieving balanced and sustainable economic growth; and forging cooperative solutions to the threat of climate change, armed conflict, and pandemic disease.

The starting point for that collective action will be our engagement with other countries. The cornerstone of this engagement is the relationship between the United States and our close friends and allies in Europe, Asia, the Americas, and the Middle East—ties which are rooted in shared interests and shared values, and which serve our mutual security and the broader security and prosperity of the world. We are working to build deeper and more effective partnerships with other key centers of influence—including China, India, and Russia, as well as increasingly influential nations such as Brazil, South Africa, and Indonesia—so that we can cooperate on issues of bilateral and global concern, with the recognition that power, in an interconnected world, is no longer a zero sum game. We are expanding our outreach to emerging nations, particularly those that can be models of regional success and stability, from the Americas to Africa to Southeast Asia. And we will pursue engagement with hostile nations to test their intentions, give their governments the opportunity to change course, reach out to their people, and mobilize international coalitions.

This engagement will underpin our commitment to an international order based upon rights and responsibilities. International institutions must more effectively represent the world of the 21st century, with a broader voice—and greater responsibilities—for emerging powers, and they must be modernized to more effectively generate results on issues of global interest. Constructive national steps on issues ranging from nuclear security to climate change must be incentivized, so nations that choose to do their part see the benefits of responsible action. Rules of the road must be followed, and there must be consequences for those nations that break the rules—whether they are nonproliferation obligations, trade agreements, or human rights commitments.

This modernization of institutions, strengthening of international norms, and enforcement of international law is not a task for the United States alone—but together with like-minded nations, it is a task we can lead. A key source of American leadership throughout our history has been enlightened self-interest. We want a better future for our children and grandchildren, and we believe that their lives will be better if other peoples' children and grandchildren can live in freedom and prosperity. The belief that our own interests are bound to the interests of those beyond our borders will continue to guide our engagement with nations and peoples.

## Advancing Top National Security Priorities

Just as our national security strategy is focused on renewing our leadership for the long term, it is also facilitating immediate action on top priorities. This Administration has no greater responsibility than the safety and security of the American people. And there is no greater threat to the American people than weapons of mass destruction, particularly the danger posed by the pursuit of nuclear weapons by violent extremists and their proliferation to additional states.

That is why we are pursuing a comprehensive nonproliferation and nuclear security agenda, grounded in the rights and responsibilities of nations. We are reducing our nuclear arsenal and reliance on nuclear weapons, while ensuring the reliability and effectiveness of our deterrent. We are strengthening the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as the foundation of nonproliferation, while working through the NPT to hold nations like Iran and North Korea accountable for their failure to meet international obligations. We are leading a global effort to secure all vulnerable nuclear materials from terrorists. And we are pursuing new strategies to protect against biological attacks and challenges to the cyber networks that we depend upon.

As we secure the world's most dangerous weapons, we are fighting a war against a far-reaching network of hatred and violence. We will disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al-Qa'ida and its affiliates through a comprehensive strategy that denies them safe haven, strengthens front-line partners, secures our homeland, pursues justice through durable legal approaches, and counters a bankrupt agenda of extremism and murder with an agenda of hope and opportunity. The frontline of this fight is Afghanistan and Pakistan, where we are applying relentless pressure on al-Qa'ida, breaking the Taliban's momentum, and strengthening the security and capacity of our partners. In this effort, our troops are again demonstrating their extraordinary service, making great sacrifices in a time of danger, and they have our full support.

In Iraq, we are transitioning to full Iraqi sovereignty and responsibility—a process that includes the removal of our troops, the strengthening of our civilian capacity, and a long-term partnership to the Iraqi Government and people. We will be unwavering in our pursuit of a comprehensive peace between Israel and its neighbors, including a two-state solution that ensures Israel's security, while fulfilling the Palestinian peoples' legitimate aspirations for a viable state of their own. And our broader engagement with Muslim communities around the world will spur progress on critical political and security matters, while advancing partnerships on a broad range of issues based upon mutual interests and mutual respect.

As we rebuild the economic strength upon which our leadership depends, we are working to advance the balanced and sustainable growth upon which global prosperity and stability depends. This includes steps at home and abroad to prevent another crisis. We have shifted focus to the G-20 as the premier forum for international economic cooperation, and are working to rebalance global demand so that America saves more and exports more, while emerging economies generate more demand. And we will pursue bilateral and multilateral trade agreements that advance our shared prosperity, while accelerating investments in development that can narrow inequality, expand markets, and support individual opportunity and state capacity abroad.

## I. OVERVIEW OF NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

These efforts to advance security and prosperity are enhanced by our support for certain values that are universal. Nations that respect human rights and democratic values are more successful and stronger partners, and individuals who enjoy such respect are more able to achieve their full potential. The United States rejects the false choice between the narrow pursuit of our interests and an endless campaign to impose our values. Instead, we see it as fundamental to our own interests to support a just peace around the world—one in which individuals, and not just nations, are granted the fundamental rights that they deserve.

In keeping with the focus on the foundation of our strength and influence, we are promoting universal values abroad by living them at home, and will not seek to impose these values through force. Instead, we are working to strengthen international norms on behalf of human rights, while welcoming all peaceful democratic movements. We are supporting the development of institutions within fragile democracies, integrating human rights as a part of our dialogue with repressive governments, and supporting the spread of technologies that facilitate the freedom to access information. And we recognize economic opportunity as a human right, and are promoting the dignity of all men and women through our support for global health, food security, and cooperatives responses to humanitarian crises.

Finally, our efforts to shape an international order that promotes a just peace must facilitate cooperation capable of addressing the problems of our time. This international order will support our interests, but it is also an end that we seek in its own right. New challenges hold out the prospect of opportunity, but only if the international community breaks down the old habits of suspicion to build upon common interests. A global effort to combat climate change must draw upon national actions to reduce emissions and a commitment to mitigate their impact. Efforts to prevent conflicts and keep the peace in their aftermath can stop insecurity from spreading. Global cooperation to prevent the spread of pandemic disease can promote public health.

Implementing this agenda will not be easy. To succeed, we must balance and integrate all elements of American power and update our national security capacity for the 21st century. We must maintain our military's conventional superiority, while enhancing its capacity to defeat asymmetric threats. Our diplomacy and development capabilities must be modernized, and our civilian expeditionary capacity strengthened, to support the full breadth of our priorities. Our intelligence and homeland security efforts must be integrated with our national security policies, and those of our allies and partners. And our ability to synchronize our actions while communicating effectively with foreign publics must be enhanced to sustain global support.

However, America's greatest asset remains our people. In an era that will be shaped by the ability to seize the opportunities of a world that has grown more interconnected, it is the American people who will make the difference—the troops and civilians serving within our government; businesses, foundations, and educational institutions that operate around the globe; and citizens who possess the dynamism, drive, and diversity to thrive in a world that has grown smaller. Because for all of its dangers, globalization is in part a product of American leadership and the ingenuity of the American people. We are uniquely suited to seize its promise.

## NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

Our story is not without imperfections. Yet at each juncture that history has called upon us to rise to the occasion, we have advanced our own security, while contributing to the cause of human progress. To continue to do so, our national security strategy must be informed by our people, enhanced by the contributions of the Congress, and strengthened by the unity of the American people. If we draw on that spirit anew, we can build a world of greater peace, prosperity, and human dignity.



## II. Strategic Approach

“More than at any point in human history—the interests of nations and peoples are shared. The religious convictions that we hold in our hearts can forge new bonds among people, or tear us apart. The technology we harness can light the path to peace, or forever darken it. The energy we use can sustain our planet, or destroy it. What happens to the hope of a single child—anywhere—can enrich our world, or impoverish it.”

—President Barack Obama, United Nations General Assembly, September 22, 2009

The United States must renew its leadership in the world by building and cultivating the sources of our strength and influence. Our national security depends upon America’s ability to leverage our unique national attributes, just as global security depends upon strong and responsible American leadership. That includes our military might, economic competitiveness, moral leadership, global engagement, and efforts to shape an international system that serves the mutual interests of nations and peoples. For the world has changed at an extraordinary pace, and the United States must adapt to advance our interests and sustain our leadership.

American interests are enduring. They are:

- The security of the United States, its citizens, and U.S. allies and partners;
- A strong, innovative, and growing U.S. economy in an open international economic system that promotes opportunity and prosperity;
- Respect for universal values at home and around the world; and
- An international order advanced by U.S. leadership that promotes peace, security, and opportunity through stronger cooperation to meet global challenges.

Currently, the United States is focused on implementing a responsible transition as we end the war in Iraq, succeeding in Afghanistan, and defeating al-Qa’ida and its terrorist affiliates, while moving our economy from catastrophic recession to lasting recovery. As we confront these crises, our national strategy must take a longer view. We must build a stronger foundation for American leadership and work to better shape the outcomes that are most fundamental to our people in the 21st century.

### The Strategic Environment—The World as It Is

In the two decades since the end of the Cold War, the free flow of information, people, goods and services has accelerated at an unprecedented rate. This interconnection has empowered individuals for good and ill, and challenged state based international institutions that were largely designed in the wake of World War II by policymakers who had different challenges in mind. Nonstate actors can have a dramatic influence on the world around them. Economic growth has alleviated poverty and led to new centers of influence. More nations are asserting themselves regionally and globally. The lives of our citizens—their safety and prosperity—are more bound than ever to events beyond our borders.

Within this environment, the attacks of September 11, 2001, were a transformative event for the United States, demonstrating just how much trends far beyond our shores could directly endanger the personal safety of the American people. The attacks put into sharp focus America's position as the sole global superpower, the dangers of violent extremism, and the simmering conflicts that followed the peaceful conclusion of the Cold War. And they drew a swift and forceful response from the United States and our allies and partners in Afghanistan. This response was followed by our decision to go to war in Iraq, and the ensuing years have seen America's forces, resources, and national security strategy focused on these conflicts.

The United States is now fighting two wars with many thousands of our men and women deployed in harm's way, and hundreds of billions of dollars dedicated to funding these conflicts. In Iraq, we are supporting a transition of responsibility to the sovereign Iraqi Government. We are supporting the security and prosperity of our partners in Afghanistan and Pakistan as part of a broader campaign to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al-Qa'ida and its violent extremist affiliates.

Yet these wars—and our global efforts to successfully counter violent extremism—are only one element of our strategic environment and cannot define America's engagement with the world. Terrorism is one of many threats that are more consequential in a global age. The gravest danger to the American people and global security continues to come from weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons. The space and cyberspace capabilities that power our daily lives and military operations are vulnerable to disruption and attack. Dependence upon fossil fuels constrains our options and pollutes our environment. Climate change and pandemic disease threaten the security of regions and the health and safety of the American people. Failing states breed conflict and endanger regional and global security. Global criminal networks foment insecurity abroad and bring people and goods across our own borders that threaten our people.

The global economy is being reshaped by innovation, emerging economies, transition to low-carbon energy, and recovery from a catastrophic recession. The convergence of wealth and living standards among developed and emerging economies holds out the promise of more balanced global growth, but dramatic inequality persists within and among nations. Profound cultural and demographic tensions, rising demand for resources, and rapid urbanization could reshape single countries and entire regions. As the world grows more interconnected, more individuals are gaining awareness of their universal rights and have the capacity to pursue them. Democracies that respect the rights of their people remain successful states and America's most steadfast allies. Yet the advance of democracy and human rights has stalled in many parts of the world.

More actors exert power and influence. Europe is now more united, free, and at peace than ever before. The European Union has deepened its integration. Russia has reemerged in the international arena as a strong voice. China and India—the world's two most populous nations—are becoming more engaged globally. From Latin America to Africa to the Pacific, new and emerging powers hold out opportunities for partnership, even as a handful of states endanger regional and global security by flouting international norms. International institutions play a critical role in facilitating cooperation, but at times cannot effectively address new threats or seize new opportunities. Meanwhile, individuals, corporations, and civil society play an increasingly important role in shaping events around the world.

## II. STRATEGIC APPROACH

The United States retains the strengths that have enabled our leadership for many decades. Our society is exceptional in its openness, vast diversity, resilience, and engaged citizenry. Our private sector and civil society exhibit enormous ingenuity and innovation, and our workers are capable and dedicated. We have the world's largest economy and most powerful military, strong alliances and a vibrant cultural appeal, and a history of leadership in economic and social development. We continue to be a destination that is sought out by immigrants from around the world, who enrich our society. We have a transparent, accountable democracy and a dynamic and productive populace with deep connections to peoples around the world. And we continue to embrace a set of values that have enabled liberty and opportunity at home and abroad.

Now, the very fluidity within the international system that breeds new challenges must be approached as an opportunity to forge new international cooperation. We must rebalance our long-term priorities so that we successfully move beyond today's wars, and focus our attention and resources on a broader set of countries and challenges. We must seize on the opportunities afforded by the world's interconnection, while responding effectively and comprehensively to its dangers. And we must take advantage of the unparalleled connections that America's Government, private sector, and citizens have around the globe.

### **The Strategic Approach—The World We Seek**

In the past, the United States has thrived when both our nation and our national security policy have adapted to shape change instead of being shaped by it. For instance, as the industrial revolution took hold, America transformed our economy and our role in the world. When the world was confronted by fascism, America prepared itself to win a war and to shape the peace that followed. When the United States encountered an ideological, economic, and military threat from communism, we shaped our practices and institutions at home—and policies abroad—to meet this challenge. Now, we must once again position the United States to champion mutual interests among nations and peoples.

### ***Building Our Foundation***

Our national security begins at home. What takes place within our borders has always been the source of our strength, and this is even truer in an age of interconnection.

First and foremost, we must renew the foundation of America's strength. In the long run, the welfare of the American people will determine America's strength in the world, particularly at a time when our own economy is inextricably linked to the global economy. Our prosperity serves as a wellspring for our power. It pays for our military, underwrites our diplomacy and development efforts, and serves as a leading source of our influence in the world. Moreover, our trade and investment supports millions of American jobs, forges links among countries, spurs global development, and contributes to a stable and peaceful political and economic environment.

Yet even as we have maintained our military advantage, our competitiveness has been set back in recent years. We are recovering from underinvestment in the areas that are central to America's strength. We have not adequately advanced priorities like education, energy, science and technology, and health care—all of which are essential to U.S. competitiveness, long-term prosperity, and strength. Years of rising fiscal and trade deficits will also necessitate hard choices in the years ahead.



That is why we are rebuilding our economy so that it will serve as an engine of opportunity for the American people, and a source of American influence abroad. The United States must ensure that we have the world's best-educated workforce, a private sector that fosters innovation, and citizens and businesses that can access affordable health care to compete in a globalized economy. We must transform the way that we use energy—diversifying supplies, investing in innovation, and deploying clean energy technologies. By doing so, we will enhance energy security, create jobs, and fight climate change.

Rebuilding our economy must include putting ourselves on a fiscally sustainable path. As such, implementing our national security strategy will require a disciplined approach to setting priorities and making tradeoffs among competing programs and activities. Taken together, these efforts will position our nation for success in the global marketplace, while also supporting our national security capacity—the strength of our military, intelligence, diplomacy and development, and the security and resilience of our homeland.

We are now moving beyond traditional distinctions between homeland and national security. National security draws on the strength and resilience of our citizens, communities, and economy. This includes a determination to prevent terrorist attacks against the American people by fully coordinating the actions that we take abroad with the actions and precautions that we take at home. It must also include a commitment to building a more secure and resilient nation, while maintaining open flows of goods and people. We will continue to develop the capacity to address the threats and hazards that confront us, while redeveloping our infrastructure to secure our people and work cooperatively with other nations.

America's example is also a critical component of our foundation. The human rights which America has stood for since our founding have enabled our leadership, provided a source of inspiration for peoples around the world, and drawn a clear contrast between the United States and our democratic allies, and those nations and individuals that deny or suppress human rights. Our efforts to live our own values, and uphold the principles of democracy in our own society, underpin our support for the aspirations of the oppressed abroad, who know they can turn to America for leadership based on justice and hope.

Our moral leadership is grounded principally in the power of our example—not through an effort to impose our system on other peoples. Yet over the years, some methods employed in pursuit of our security have compromised our fidelity to the values that we promote, and our leadership on their behalf. This undercuts our ability to support democratic movements abroad, challenge nations that violate international human rights norms, and apply our broader leadership for good in the world. That is why we will lead on behalf of our values by living them. Our struggle to stay true to our values and Constitution has always been a lodestar, both to the American people and to those who share our aspiration for human dignity.

Our values have allowed us to draw the best and brightest to our shores, to inspire those who share our cause abroad, and to give us the credibility to stand up to tyranny. America must demonstrate through words and deeds the resilience of our values and Constitution. For if we compromise our values in pursuit of security, we will undermine both; if we fortify them, we will sustain a key source of our strength and leadership in the world—one that sets us apart from our enemies and our potential competitors.



### *Pursuing Comprehensive Engagement*

Our foundation will support our efforts to engage nations, institutions, and peoples around the world on the basis of mutual interests and mutual respect.

Engagement is the active participation of the United States in relationships beyond our borders. It is, quite simply, the opposite of a self-imposed isolation that denies us the ability to shape outcomes. Indeed, America has never succeeded through isolationism. As the nation that helped to build our international system after World War II and to bring about the globalization that came with the end of the Cold War, we must reengage the world on a comprehensive and sustained basis.

Engagement begins with our closest friends and allies—from Europe to Asia; from North America to the Middle East. These nations share a common history of struggle on behalf of security, prosperity, and democracy. They share common values and a common commitment to international norms that recognize both the rights and responsibilities of all sovereign nations. America's national security depends on these vibrant alliances, and we must engage them as active partners in addressing global and regional security priorities and harnessing new opportunities to advance common interests. For instance, we pursue close and regular collaboration with our close allies the United Kingdom, France, and Germany on issues of mutual and global concern.

We will continue to deepen our cooperation with other 21st century centers of influence—including China, India, and Russia—on the basis of mutual interests and mutual respect. We will also pursue diplomacy and development that supports the emergence of new and successful partners, from the Americas to Africa; from the Middle East to Southeast Asia. Our ability to advance constructive cooperation is essential to the security and prosperity of specific regions, and to facilitating global cooperation on issues ranging from violent extremism and nuclear proliferation, to climate change, and global economic instability—issues that challenge all nations, but that no one nation alone can meet.

To adversarial governments, we offer a clear choice: abide by international norms, and achieve the political and economic benefits that come with greater integration with the international community; or refuse to accept this pathway, and bear the consequences of that decision, including greater isolation. Through engagement, we can create opportunities to resolve differences, strengthen the international community's support for our actions, learn about the intentions and nature of closed regimes, and plainly demonstrate to the publics within those nations that their governments are to blame for their isolation.

Successful engagement will depend upon the effective use and integration of different elements of American power. Our diplomacy and development capabilities must help prevent conflict, spur economic growth, strengthen weak and failing states, lift people out of poverty, combat climate change and epidemic disease, and strengthen institutions of democratic governance. Our military will continue strengthening its capacity to partner with foreign counterparts, train and assist security forces, and pursue military-to-military ties with a broad range of governments. We will continue to foster economic and financial transactions to advance our shared prosperity. And our intelligence and law enforcement agencies must cooperate effectively with foreign governments to anticipate events, respond to crises, and provide safety and security.

Finally, we will pursue engagement among peoples—not just governments—around the world. The United States Government will make a sustained effort to engage civil society and citizens and facilitate increased connections among the American people and peoples around the world—through efforts ranging from public service and educational exchanges, to increased commerce and private sector partnerships. In many instances, these modes of engagement have a powerful and enduring impact beyond our borders, and are a cost-effective way of projecting a positive vision of American leadership. Time and again, we have seen that the best ambassadors for American values and interests are the American people—our businesses, nongovernmental organizations, scientists, athletes, artists, military service members, and students.

Facilitating increased international engagement outside of government will help prepare our country to thrive in a global economy, while building the goodwill and relationships that are invaluable to sustaining American leadership. It also helps leverage strengths that are unique to America—our diversity and diaspora populations, our openness and creativity, and the values that our people embody in their own lives.

### *Promoting a Just and Sustainable International Order*

Our engagement will underpin a just and sustainable international order—just, because it advances mutual interests, protects the rights of all, and holds accountable those who refuse to meet their responsibilities; sustainable because it is based on broadly shared norms and fosters collective action to address common challenges.

This engagement will pursue an international order that recognizes the rights and responsibilities of all nations. As we did after World War II, we must pursue a rules-based international system that can advance our own interests by serving mutual interests. International institutions must be more effective and representative of the diffusion of influence in the 21st century. Nations must have incentives to behave responsibly, or be isolated when they do not. The test of this international order must be the cooperation it facilitates and the results it generates—the ability of nations to come together to confront common challenges like violent extremism, nuclear proliferation, climate change, and a changing global economy.

That is precisely the reason we should strengthen enforcement of international law and our commitment to engage and modernize international institutions and frameworks. Those nations that refuse to meet their responsibilities will forsake the opportunities that come with international cooperation. Credible and effective alternatives to military action—from sanctions to isolation—must be strong enough to change behavior, just as we must reinforce our alliances and our military capabilities. And if nations challenge or undermine an international order that is based upon rights and responsibilities, they must find themselves isolated.

We succeeded in the post-World War II era by pursuing our interests within multilateral forums like the United Nations—not outside of them. We recognized that institutions that aggregated the national interests of many nations would never be perfect; but we also saw that they were an indispensable vehicle for pooling international resources and enforcing international norms. Indeed, the basis for international

### III. ADVANCING OUR INTERESTS

cooperation since World War II has been an architecture of international institutions, organizations, regimes, and standards that establishes certain rights and responsibilities for all sovereign nations.

In recent years America's frustration with international institutions has led us at times to engage the United Nations (U.N.) system on an ad hoc basis. But in a world of transnational challenges, the United States will need to invest in strengthening the international system, working from inside international institutions and frameworks to face their imperfections head on and to mobilize transnational cooperation.

We must be clear-eyed about the factors that have impeded effectiveness in the past. In order for collective action to be mobilized, the polarization that persists across region, race, and religion will need to be replaced by a galvanizing sense of shared interest. Swift and effective international action often turns on the political will of coalitions of countries that comprise regional or international institutions. New and emerging powers who seek greater voice and representation will need to accept greater responsibility for meeting global challenges. When nations breach agreed international norms, the countries who espouse those norms must be convinced to band together to enforce them.

We will expand our support to modernizing institutions and arrangements such as the evolution of the G-8 to the G-20 to reflect the realities of today's international environment. Working with the institutions and the countries that comprise them, we will enhance international capacity to prevent conflict, spur economic growth, improve security, combat climate change, and address the challenges posed by weak and failing states. And we will challenge and assist international institutions and frameworks to reform when they fail to live up to their promise. Strengthening the legitimacy and authority of international law and institutions, especially the U.N., will require a constant struggle to improve performance.

Furthermore, our international order must recognize the increasing influence of individuals in today's world. There must be opportunities for civil society to thrive within nations and to forge connections among them. And there must be opportunities for individuals and the private sector to play a major role in addressing common challenges—whether supporting a nuclear fuel bank, promoting global health, fostering entrepreneurship, or exposing violations of universal rights. In the 21st century, the ability of individuals and nongovernment actors to play a positive role in shaping the international environment represents a distinct opportunity for the United States.

Within this context, we know that an international order where every nation upholds its rights and responsibilities will remain elusive. Force will sometimes be necessary to confront threats. Technology will continue to bring with it new dangers. Poverty and disease will not be completely abolished. Oppression will always be with us. But if we recognize these challenges, embrace America's responsibility to confront them with its partners, and forge new cooperative approaches to get others to join us in overcoming them, then the international order of a globalized age can better advance our interests and the common interests of nations and peoples everywhere.

### Strengthening National Capacity—A Whole of Government Approach

To succeed, we must update, balance, and integrate all of the tools of American power and work with our allies and partners to do the same. Our military must maintain its conventional superiority and, as long as nuclear weapons exist, our nuclear deterrent capability, while continuing to enhance its capacity to defeat asymmetric threats, preserve access to the global commons, and strengthen partners. We must invest in diplomacy and development capabilities and institutions in a way that complements and reinforces our global partners. Our intelligence capabilities must continuously evolve to identify and characterize conventional and asymmetric threats and provide timely insight. And we must integrate our approach to homeland security with our broader national security approach.

We are improving the integration of skills and capabilities within our military and civilian institutions, so they complement each other and operate seamlessly. We are also improving coordinated planning and policymaking and must build our capacity in key areas where we fall short. This requires close cooperation with Congress and a deliberate and inclusive interagency process, so that we achieve integration of our efforts to implement and monitor operations, policies, and strategies. To initiate this effort, the White House merged the staffs of the National Security Council and Homeland Security Council.

However, work remains to foster coordination across departments and agencies. Key steps include more effectively ensuring alignment of resources with our national security strategy, adapting the education and training of national security professionals to equip them to meet modern challenges, reviewing authorities and mechanisms to implement and coordinate assistance programs, and other policies and programs that strengthen coordination.

- **Defense:** We are strengthening our military to ensure that it can prevail in today's wars; to prevent and deter threats against the United States, its interests, and our allies and partners; and prepare to defend the United States in a wide range of contingencies against state and nonstate actors. We will continue to rebalance our military capabilities to excel at counterterrorism, counterinsurgency, stability operations, and meeting increasingly sophisticated security threats, while ensuring our force is ready to address the full range of military operations. This includes preparing for increasingly sophisticated adversaries, deterring and defeating aggression in anti-access environments, and defending the United States and supporting civil authorities at home. The most valuable component of our national defense is the men and women who make up America's all-volunteer force. They have shown tremendous resilience, adaptability, and capacity for innovation, and we will provide our service members with the resources that they need to succeed and rededicate ourselves to providing support and care for wounded warriors, veterans, and military families. We must set the force on a path to sustainable deployment cycles and preserve and enhance the long-term viability of our force through successful recruitment, retention, and recognition of those who serve.
- **Diplomacy:** Diplomacy is as fundamental to our national security as our defense capability. Our diplomats are the first line of engagement, listening to our partners, learning from them, building respect for one another, and seeking common ground. Diplomats, development experts, and others in the United States Government must be able to work side by side to support a common agenda. New skills are needed to foster effective interaction to convene, connect, and mobilize not only other governments and international organizations, but also nonstate actors such as corporations, foundations, nongovernmental organizations, universities, think tanks, and faith-based organizations, all of whom increasingly have a distinct role to play on both diplomatic and development issues. To accomplish these goals our

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diplomatic personnel and missions must be expanded at home and abroad to support the increasingly transnational nature of 21st century security challenges. And we must provide the appropriate authorities and mechanisms to implement and coordinate assistance programs and grow the civilian expeditionary capacity required to assist governments on a diverse array of issues.

- **Economic:** Our economic institutions are crucial components of our national capacity and our economic instruments are the bedrock of sustainable national growth, prosperity and influence. The Office of Management and Budget, Departments of the Treasury, State, Commerce, Energy, and Agriculture, United States Trade Representative, Federal Reserve Board, and other institutions help manage our currency, trade, foreign investment, deficit, inflation, productivity, and national competitiveness. Remaining a vibrant 21st century economic power also requires close cooperation between and among developed nations and emerging markets because of the interdependent nature of the global economy. America—like other nations—is dependent upon overseas markets to sell its exports and maintain access to scarce commodities and resources. Thus, finding overlapping mutual economic interests with other nations and maintaining those economic relationships are key elements of our national security strategy.
- **Development:** Development is a strategic, economic, and moral imperative. We are focusing on assisting developing countries and their people to manage security threats, reap the benefits of global economic expansion, and set in place accountable and democratic institutions that serve basic human needs. Through an aggressive and affirmative development agenda and commensurate resources, we can strengthen the regional partners we need to help us stop conflicts and counter global criminal networks; build a stable, inclusive global economy with new sources of prosperity; advance democracy and human rights; and ultimately position ourselves to better address key global challenges by growing the ranks of prosperous, capable, and democratic states that can be our partners in the decades ahead. To do this, we are expanding our civilian development capability; engaging with international financial institutions that leverage our resources and advance our objectives; pursuing a development budget that more deliberately reflects our policies and our strategy, not sector earmarks; and ensuring that our policy instruments are aligned in support of development objectives.
- **Homeland Security:** Homeland security traces its roots to traditional and historic functions of government and society, such as civil defense, emergency response, law enforcement, customs, border patrol, and immigration. In the aftermath of 9/11 and the foundation of the Department of Homeland Security, these functions have taken on new organization and urgency. Homeland security, therefore, strives to adapt these traditional functions to confront new threats and evolving hazards. It is not simply about government action alone, but rather about the collective strength of the entire country. Our approach relies on our shared efforts to identify and interdict threats; deny hostile actors the ability to operate within our borders; maintain effective control of our physical borders; safeguard lawful trade and travel into and out of the United States; disrupt and dismantle transnational terrorist, and criminal organizations; and ensure our national resilience in the face of the threat and hazards. Taken together, these efforts must support a homeland that is safe and secure from terrorism and other hazards and in which American interests, aspirations, and way of life can thrive.
- **Intelligence:** Our country's safety and prosperity depend on the quality of the intelligence we collect and the analysis we produce, our ability to evaluate and share this information in a timely manner, and our ability to counter intelligence threats. This is as true for the strategic intelligence that informs executive decisions as it is for intelligence support to homeland security, state, local, and tribal govern-

ments, our troops, and critical national missions. We are working to better integrate the Intelligence Community, while also enhancing the capabilities of our Intelligence Community members. We are strengthening our partnerships with foreign intelligence services and sustaining strong ties with our close allies. And we continue to invest in the men and women of the Intelligence Community.

- **Strategic Communications:** Across all of our efforts, effective strategic communications are essential to sustaining global legitimacy and supporting our policy aims. Aligning our actions with our words is a shared responsibility that must be fostered by a culture of communication throughout government. We must also be more effective in our deliberate communication and engagement and do a better job understanding the attitudes, opinions, grievances, and concerns of peoples—not just elites—around the world. Doing so allows us to convey credible, consistent messages and to develop effective plans, while better understanding how our actions will be perceived. We must also use a broad range of methods for communicating with foreign publics, including new media.
- **The American People and the Private Sector:** The ideas, values, energy, creativity, and resilience of our citizens are America’s greatest resource. We will support the development of prepared, vigilant, and engaged communities and underscore that our citizens are the heart of a resilient country. And we must tap the ingenuity outside government through strategic partnerships with the private sector, nongovernmental organizations, foundations, and community-based organizations. Such partnerships are critical to U.S. success at home and abroad, and we will support them through enhanced opportunities for engagement, coordination, transparency, and information sharing.



### III. Advancing Our Interests

To achieve the world we seek, the United States must apply our strategic approach in pursuit of four enduring national interests:

- **Security:** The security of the United States, its citizens, and U.S. allies and partners.
- **Prosperity:** A strong, innovative, and growing U.S. economy in an open international economic system that promotes opportunity and prosperity.
- **Values:** Respect for universal values at home and around the world.
- **International Order:** An international order advanced by U.S. leadership that promotes peace, security, and opportunity through stronger cooperation to meet global challenges.

Each of these interests is inextricably linked to the others: no single interest can be pursued in isolation, but at the same time, positive action in one area will help advance all four. The initiatives described below do not encompass all of America's national security concerns. However, they represent areas of particular priority and areas where progress is critical to securing our country and renewing American leadership in the years to come.

#### Security

“We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense. And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken—you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you.”

—President Barack Obama, Inaugural Address, January 20, 2009

The threats to our people, our homeland, and our interests have shifted dramatically in the last 20 years. Competition among states endures, but instead of a single nuclear adversary, the United States is now threatened by the potential spread of nuclear weapons to extremists who may not be deterred from using them. Instead of a hostile expansionist empire, we now face a diverse array of challenges, from a loose network of violent extremists to states that flout international norms or face internal collapse. In addition to facing enemies on traditional battlefields, the United States must now be prepared for asymmetric threats, such as those that target our reliance on space and cyberspace.

This Administration has no greater responsibility than protecting the American people. Furthermore, we embrace America's unique responsibility to promote international security—a responsibility that flows from our commitments to allies, our leading role in supporting a just and sustainable international order, and our unmatched military capabilities.

The United States remains the only nation able to project and sustain large-scale military operations over extended distances. We maintain superior capabilities to deter and defeat adaptive enemies and



to ensure the credibility of security partnerships that are fundamental to regional and global security. In this way, our military continues to underpin our national security and global leadership, and when we use it appropriately, our security and leadership is reinforced. But when we overuse our military might, or fail to invest in or deploy complementary tools, or act without partners, then our military is overstretched, Americans bear a greater burden, and our leadership around the world is too narrowly identified with military force. And we know that our enemies aim to overextend our Armed Forces and to drive wedges between us and those who share our interests.

Therefore, we must continue to adapt and rebalance our instruments of statecraft. At home, we are integrating our homeland security efforts seamlessly with other aspects of our national security approach, and strengthening our preparedness and resilience. Abroad, we are strengthening alliances, forging new partnerships, and using every tool of American power to advance our objectives—including enhanced diplomatic and development capabilities with the ability both to prevent conflict and to work alongside our military. We are strengthening international norms to isolate governments that flout them and to marshal cooperation against nongovernmental actors who endanger our common security.

### *Strengthen Security and Resilience at Home*

At home, the United States is pursuing a strategy capable of meeting the full range of threats and hazards to our communities. These threats and hazards include terrorism, natural disasters, large-scale cyber attacks, and pandemics. As we do everything within our power to prevent these dangers, we also recognize that we will not be able to deter or prevent every single threat. That is why we must also enhance our resilience—the ability to adapt to changing conditions and prepare for, withstand, and rapidly recover from disruption. To keep Americans safe and secure at home, we are working to:

**Enhance Security at Home:** Security at home relies on our shared efforts to prevent and deter attacks by identifying and interdicting threats, denying hostile actors the ability to operate within our borders, protecting the nation’s critical infrastructure and key resources, and securing cyberspace. That is why we are pursuing initiatives to protect and reduce vulnerabilities in critical infrastructure, at our borders, ports, and airports, and to enhance overall air, maritime, transportation, and space and cyber security. Building on this foundation, we recognize that the global systems that carry people, goods, and data around the globe also facilitate the movement of dangerous people, goods, and data. Within these systems of transportation and transaction, there are key nodes—for example, points of origin and transfer, or border crossings—that represent opportunities for exploitation and interdiction. Thus, we are working with partners abroad to confront threats that often begin beyond our borders. And we are developing lines of coordination at home across Federal, state, local, tribal, territorial, nongovernmental, and private-sector partners, as well as individuals and communities.

**Effectively Manage Emergencies:** We are building our capability to prepare for disasters to reduce or eliminate long-term effects to people and their property from hazards and to respond to and recover from major incidents. To improve our preparedness, we are integrating domestic all hazards planning at all levels of government and building key capabilities to respond to emergencies. We continue to collaborate with communities to ensure preparedness efforts are integrated at all levels of government with the private and nonprofit sectors. We are investing in operational capabilities and equipment, and



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improving the reliability and interoperability of communications systems for first responders. We are encouraging domestic regional planning and integrated preparedness programs and will encourage government at all levels to engage in long-term recovery planning. It is critical that we continually test and improve plans using exercises that are realistic in scenario and consequences.

**Empowering Communities to Counter Radicalization:** Several recent incidences of violent extremists in the United States who are committed to fighting here and abroad have underscored the threat to the United States and our interests posed by individuals radicalized at home. Our best defenses against this threat are well informed and equipped families, local communities, and institutions. The Federal Government will invest in intelligence to understand this threat and expand community engagement and development programs to empower local communities. And the Federal Government, drawing on the expertise and resources from all relevant agencies, will clearly communicate our policies and intentions, listening to local concerns, tailoring policies to address regional concerns, and making clear that our diversity is part of our strength—not a source of division or insecurity.

**Improve Resilience Through Increased Public-Private Partnerships:** When incidents occur, we must show resilience by maintaining critical operations and functions, returning to our normal life, and learning from disasters so that their lessons can be translated into pragmatic changes when necessary. The private sector, which owns and operates most of the nation's critical infrastructure, plays a vital role in preparing for and recovering from disasters. We must, therefore, strengthen public-private partnerships by developing incentives for government and the private sector to design structures and systems that can withstand disruptions and mitigate associated consequences, ensure redundant systems where necessary to maintain the ability to operate, decentralize critical operations to reduce our vulnerability to single points of disruption, develop and test continuity plans to ensure the ability to restore critical capabilities, and invest in improvements and maintenance of existing infrastructure.

**Engage with Communities and Citizens:** We will emphasize individual and community preparedness and resilience through frequent engagement that provides clear and reliable risk and emergency information to the public. A key part of this effort is providing practical steps that all Americans can take to protect themselves, their families, and their neighbors. This includes transmitting information through multiple pathways and to those with special needs. In addition, we support efforts to develop a nationwide public safety broadband network. Our efforts to inform and empower Americans and their communities recognize that resilience has always been at the heart of the American spirit.

#### ***Disrupt, Dismantle, and Defeat Al-Qa'ida and its Violent Extremist Affiliates in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Around the World***

The United States is waging a global campaign against al-Qa'ida and its terrorist affiliates. To disrupt, dismantle and defeat al-Qa'ida and its affiliates, we are pursuing a strategy that protects our homeland, secures the world's most dangerous weapons and material, denies al-Qa'ida safe haven, and builds positive partnerships with Muslim communities around the world. Success requires a broad, sustained, and integrated campaign that judiciously applies every tool of American power—both military and civilian—as well as the concerted efforts of like-minded states and multilateral institutions.

We will always seek to delegitimize the use of terrorism and to isolate those who carry it out. Yet this is not a global war against a tactic—terrorism or a religion—Islam. We are at war with a specific network, al-Qa’ida, and its terrorist affiliates who support efforts to attack the United States, our allies, and partners.

**Prevent Attacks on and in the Homeland:** To prevent acts of terrorism on American soil, we must enlist all of our intelligence, law enforcement, and homeland security capabilities. We will continue to integrate and leverage state and major urban area fusion centers that have the capability to share classified information; establish a nationwide framework for reporting suspicious activity; and implement an integrated approach to our counterterrorism information systems to ensure that the analysts, agents, and officers who protect us have access to all relevant intelligence throughout the government. We are improving information sharing and cooperation by linking networks to facilitate Federal, state, and local capabilities to seamlessly exchange messages and information, conduct searches, and collaborate. We are coordinating better with foreign partners to identify, track, limit access to funding, and prevent terrorist travel. Recognizing the inextricable link between domestic and transnational security, we will collaborate bilaterally, regionally, and through international institutions to promote global efforts to prevent terrorist attacks.

**Strengthen Aviation Security:** We know that the aviation system has been a particular target of al-Qa’ida and its affiliates. We must continue to bolster aviation security worldwide through a focus on increased information collection and sharing, stronger passenger vetting and screening measures, the development and development of advanced screening technologies, and cooperation with the international community to strengthen aviation security standards and efforts around the world.

**Deny Terrorists Weapons of Mass Destruction:** To prevent acts of terrorism with the world’s most dangerous weapons, we are dramatically accelerating and intensifying efforts to secure all vulnerable nuclear materials by the end of 2013, and to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. We will also take actions to safeguard knowledge and capabilities in the life and chemical sciences that could be vulnerable to misuse.

**Deny Al-Qa’ida the Ability to Threaten the American People, Our Allies, Our Partners and Our Interests Overseas:** Al-Qa’ida and its allies must not be permitted to gain or retain any capacity to plan and launch international terrorist attacks, especially against the U.S. homeland. Al Qa’ida’s core in Pakistan remains the most dangerous component of the larger network, but we also face a growing threat from the group’s allies worldwide. We must deny these groups the ability to conduct operational plotting from any locale, or to recruit, train, and position operatives, including those from Europe and North America.

**Afghanistan and Pakistan:** This is the epicenter of the violent extremism practiced by al Qa’ida. The danger from this region will only grow if its security slides backward, the Taliban controls large swaths of Afghanistan, and al-Qa’ida is allowed to operate with impunity. To prevent future attacks on the United States, our allies, and partners, we must work with others to keep the pressure on al-Qa’ida and increase the security and capacity of our partners in this region.

In Afghanistan, we must deny al-Qa’ida a safe haven, deny the Taliban the ability to overthrow the government, and strengthen the capacity of Afghanistan’s security forces and government so that they can take lead responsibility for Afghanistan’s future. Within Pakistan, we are working with the government to address the local, regional, and global threat from violent extremists.

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We will achieve these objectives with a strategy comprised of three components.

- First, our military and International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) partners within Afghanistan are targeting the insurgency, working to secure key population centers, and increasing efforts to train Afghan security forces. These military resources will allow us to create the conditions to transition to Afghan responsibility. In July 2011, we will begin reducing our troops responsibly, taking into account conditions on the ground. We will continue to advise and assist Afghanistan's Security Forces so that they can succeed over the long term.
- Second, we will continue to work with our partners, the United Nations, and the Afghan Government to improve accountable and effective governance. As we work to advance our strategic partnership with the Afghan Government, we are focusing assistance on supporting the President of Afghanistan and those ministries, governors, and local leaders who combat corruption and deliver for the people. Our efforts will be based upon performance, and we will measure progress. We will also target our assistance to areas that can make an immediate and enduring impact in the lives of the Afghan people, such as agriculture, while supporting the human rights of all of Afghanistan's people—women and men. This will support our long-term commitment to a relationship between our two countries that supports a strong, stable, and prosperous Afghanistan.
- Third, we will foster a relationship with Pakistan founded upon mutual interests and mutual respect. To defeat violent extremists who threaten both of our countries, we will strengthen Pakistan's capacity to target violent extremists within its borders, and continue to provide security assistance to support those efforts. To strengthen Pakistan's democracy and development, we will provide substantial assistance responsive to the needs of the Pakistani people, and sustain a long-term partnership committed to Pakistan's future. The strategic partnership that we are developing with Pakistan includes deepening cooperation in a broad range of areas, addressing both security and civilian challenges, and we will continue to expand those ties through our engagement with Pakistan in the years to come.

**Deny Safe Havens and Strengthen At-Risk States:** Wherever al-Qa'ida or its terrorist affiliates attempt to establish a safe haven—as they have in Yemen, Somalia, the Maghreb, and the Sahel—we will meet them with growing pressure. We also will strengthen our own network of partners to disable al-Qa'ida's financial, human, and planning networks; disrupt terrorist operations before they mature; and address potential safe-havens before al-Qa'ida and its terrorist affiliates can take root. These efforts will focus on information-sharing, law enforcement cooperation, and establishing new practices to counter evolving adversaries. We will also help states avoid becoming terrorist safe havens by helping them build their capacity for responsible governance and security through development and security sector assistance.

**Deliver Swift and Sure Justice:** To effectively detain, interrogate, and prosecute terrorists, we need durable legal approaches consistent with our security and our values. We adhere to several principles: we will leverage all available information and intelligence to disrupt attacks and dismantle al-Qa'ida and affiliated terrorist organizations; we will bring terrorists to justice; we will act in line with the rule of law and due process; we will submit decisions to checks and balances and accountability; and we will insist that matters of detention and secrecy are addressed in a manner consistent with our Constitution and

laws. To deny violent extremists one of their most potent recruitment tools, we will close the prison at Guantanamo Bay.

**Resist Fear and Overreaction:** The goal of those who perpetrate terrorist attacks is in part to sow fear. If we respond with fear, we allow violent extremists to succeed far beyond the initial impact of their attacks, or attempted attacks—altering our society and enlarging the standing of al-Qa’ida and its terrorist affiliates far beyond its actual reach. Similarly, overreacting in a way that creates fissures between America and certain regions or religions will undercut our leadership and make us less safe.

**Contrast Al-Qa’ida’s Intent to Destroy with Our Constructive Vision:** While violent extremists seek to destroy, we will make clear our intent to build. We are striving to build bridges among people of different faiths and regions. We will continue to work to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, which has long been a source of tension. We will continue to stand up for the universal rights of all people, even for those with whom we disagree. We are developing new partnerships in Muslim communities around the world on behalf of health, education, science, employment, and innovation. And through our broader emphasis on Muslim engagement, we will communicate our commitment to support the aspirations of all people for security and opportunity. Finally, we reject the notion that al-Qa’ida represents any religious authority. They are not religious leaders, they are killers; and neither Islam nor any other religion condones the slaughter of innocents.

### Use of Force

Military force, at times, may be necessary to defend our country and allies or to preserve broader peace and security, including by protecting civilians facing a grave humanitarian crisis. We will draw on diplomacy, development, and international norms and institutions to help resolve disagreements, prevent conflict, and maintain peace, mitigating where possible the need for the use of force. This means credibly underwriting U.S. defense commitments with tailored approaches to deterrence and ensuring the U.S. military continues to have the necessary capabilities across all domains—land, air, sea, space, and cyber. It also includes helping our allies and partners build capacity to fulfill their responsibilities to contribute to regional and global security.

While the use of force is sometimes necessary, we will exhaust other options before war whenever we can, and carefully weigh the costs and risks of action against the costs and risks of inaction. When force is necessary, we will continue to do so in a way that reflects our values and strengthens our legitimacy, and we will seek broad international support, working with such institutions as NATO and the U.N. Security Council.

The United States must reserve the right to act unilaterally if necessary to defend our nation and our interests, yet we will also seek to adhere to standards that govern the use of force. Doing so strengthens those who act in line with international standards, while isolating and weakening those who do not. We will also outline a clear mandate and specific objectives and thoroughly consider the consequences—intended and unintended—of our actions. And the United States will take care when sending the men and women of our Armed Forces into harm’s way to ensure they have the leadership, training, and equipment they require to accomplish their mission.

#### ***Reverse the Spread of Nuclear and Biological Weapons and Secure Nuclear Materials***

The American people face no greater or more urgent danger than a terrorist attack with a nuclear weapon. And international peace and security is threatened by proliferation that could lead to a nuclear exchange. Indeed, since the end of the Cold War, the risk of a nuclear attack has increased. Excessive Cold War stockpiles remain. More nations have acquired nuclear weapons. Testing has continued. Black markets trade in nuclear secrets and materials. Terrorists are determined to buy, build, or steal a nuclear weapon. Our efforts to contain these dangers are centered in a global nonproliferation regime that has frayed as more people and nations break the rules.

That is why reversing the spread of nuclear weapons is a top priority. Success depends upon broad consensus and concerted action, we will move forward strategically on a number of fronts through our example, our partnerships, and a reinvigorated international regime. The United States will:

**Pursue the Goal of a World Without Nuclear Weapons:** While this goal will not be reached during this Administration, its active pursuit and eventual achievement will increase global security, keep our commitment under the NPT, build our cooperation with Russia and other states, and increase our credibility to hold others accountable for their obligations. As long as any nuclear weapons exist, the United States will sustain a safe, secure, and effective nuclear arsenal, both to deter potential adversaries and to assure U.S. allies and other security partners that they can count on America's security commitments. But we have signed and seek to ratify a landmark New START Treaty with Russia to substantially limit our deployed nuclear warheads and strategic delivery vehicles, while assuring a comprehensive monitoring regime. We are reducing the role of nuclear weapons in our national security approach, extending a negative security assurance not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against those nonnuclear nations that are in compliance with the NPT and their nuclear nonproliferation obligations, and investing in the modernization of a safe, secure, and effective stockpile without the production of new nuclear weapons. We will pursue ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. And we will seek a new treaty that verifiably ends the production of fissile materials intended for use in nuclear weapons.

**Strengthen the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty:** The basic bargain of the NPT is sound: countries with nuclear weapons will move toward disarmament; countries without nuclear weapons will forsake them; and all countries can access peaceful nuclear energy. To strengthen the NPT, we will seek more resources and authority for international inspections. We will develop a new framework for civil nuclear cooperation. As members of the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership have agreed, one important element of an enhanced framework could be cradle-to-grave nuclear fuel management. We will pursue a broad, international consensus to insist that all nations meet their obligations. And we will also pursue meaningful consequences for countries that fail to meet their obligations under the NPT or to meet the requirements for withdrawing from it.

**Present a Clear Choice to Iran and North Korea:** The United States will pursue the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and work to prevent Iran from developing a nuclear weapon. This is not about singling out nations—it is about the responsibilities of all nations and the success of the nonproliferation regime. Both nations face a clear choice. If North Korea eliminates its nuclear weapons program, and Iran meets its international obligations on its nuclear program, they will be able to proceed on a path to greater

political and economic integration with the international community. If they ignore their international obligations, we will pursue multiple means to increase their isolation and bring them into compliance with international nonproliferation norms.

**Secure Vulnerable Nuclear Weapons and Material:** The Global Nuclear Security Summit of 2010 rallied 47 nations behind the goal of securing all nuclear materials from terrorist groups. By the end of 2013, we will seek to complete a focused international effort to secure all vulnerable nuclear material around the world through enhanced protection and accounting practices, expanded cooperation with and through international institutions, and new partnerships to lock down these sensitive materials. To detect and intercept nuclear materials in transit, and to stop the illicit trade in these technologies, we will work to turn programs such as the Proliferation Security Initiative and the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism into durable international efforts. And we will sustain broad-based cooperation with other nations and international institutions to ensure the continued improvements necessary to protect nuclear materials from evolving threats.

**Support Peaceful Nuclear Energy:** As countries move increasingly to tap peaceful nuclear energy to provide power generation while advancing climate goals, the world must develop an infrastructure in the countries that seek to use nuclear energy for their energy security needs and climate goals to ensure that nuclear energy is developed in a safer manner. We will do so by promoting safety through regulatory bodies and training of operators, promoting physical security to prevent terrorist acts, and assuring safe and secure handling of fuel at the front and back ends of the nuclear fuel cycle.

**Counter Biological Threats:** The effective dissemination of a lethal biological agent within a population center would endanger the lives of hundreds of thousands of people and have unprecedented economic, societal, and political consequences. We must continue to work at home with first responders and health officials to reduce the risk associated with unintentional or deliberate outbreaks of infectious disease and to strengthen our resilience across the spectrum of high-consequence biological threats. We will work with domestic and international partners to protect against biological threats by promoting global health security and reinforcing norms of safe and responsible conduct; obtaining timely and accurate insight on current and emerging risks; taking reasonable steps to reduce the potential for exploitation; expanding our capability to prevent, attribute, and apprehend those who carry out attacks; communicating effectively with all stakeholders; and helping to transform the international dialogue on biological threats.

### ***Advance Peace, Security, and Opportunity in the Greater Middle East***

The United States has important interests in the greater Middle East. They include broad cooperation on a wide range of issues with our close friend, Israel, and an unshakable commitment to its security; the achievement of the Palestinian people's legitimate aspirations for statehood, opportunity, and the realization of their extraordinary potential; the unity and security of Iraq and the fostering of its democracy and reintegration into the region; the transformation of Iranian policy away from its pursuit of nuclear weapons, support for terrorism, and threats against its neighbors; nonproliferation; and counterterrorism cooperation, access to energy, and integration of the region into global markets.



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At the same time, our engagement must be both comprehensive and strategic. It should extend beyond near-term threats by appealing to peoples' aspirations for justice, education, and opportunity and by pursuing a positive and sustainable vision of U.S. partnership with the region. Furthermore, our relationship with our Israeli and Arab friends and partners in the region extends beyond our commitment to its security and includes the continued ties we share in areas such as trade, exchanges, and cooperation on a broad range of issues.

**Complete a Responsible Transition as We End the War in Iraq:** The war in Iraq presents a distinct and important challenge to the United States, the international community, the Iraqi people, and the region. America's servicemen and women, along with our coalition partners, have performed remarkably in fighting determined enemies and have worked with our civilians to help the Iraqi people regain control of their own destiny. Going forward, we have a responsibility, for our own security and the security of the region, to successfully end the war through a full transition to Iraqi responsibility. We will cultivate an enduring relationship with Iraq based on mutual interests and mutual respect.

Our goal is an Iraq that is sovereign, stable, and self-reliant. To achieve that goal, we are continuing to promote an Iraqi Government that is just, representative, and accountable and that denies support and safe haven to terrorists. The United States will pursue no claim on Iraqi territory or resources, and we will keep our commitments to Iraq's democratically elected government. These efforts will build new ties of trade and commerce between Iraq and the world, enable Iraq to assume its rightful place in the community of nations, and contribute to the peace and security of the region.

We are pursuing these objectives with a strategy that has three core components.

- **Transition Security:** First, we are transitioning security to full Iraqi responsibility. We will end the combat mission in Iraq by the end of August 2010. We will continue to train, equip, and advise Iraqi Security Forces; conduct targeted counterterrorism missions; and protect ongoing civilian and military efforts in Iraq. And, consistent with our commitments to the Iraqi Government, including the U.S.-Iraq Security Agreement, we will remove all of our troops from Iraq by the end of 2011.
- **Civilian Support:** Second, as the security situation continues to improve, U.S. civilian engagement will deepen and broaden. We will sustain a capable political, diplomatic, and civilian effort to help the Iraqi people as they resolve outstanding differences, integrate those refugees and displaced persons who can return, and continue to develop accountable democratic institutions that can better serve their basic needs. We will work with our Iraqi partners to implement the Strategic Framework Agreement, with the Department of State taking the lead. This will include cooperation on a range of issues including defense and security cooperation, political and diplomatic cooperation, rule of law, science, health, education, and economics.
- **Regional Diplomacy and Development:** Third, we will continue to pursue comprehensive engagement across the region to ensure that our drawdown in Iraq provides an opportunity to advance lasting security and sustainable development for both Iraq and the broader Middle East. The United States will continue to retain a robust civilian presence commensurate with our strategic interests in the country and the region. We are transforming our relationship to one consistent with other strategic partners in the region.

**Pursue Arab-Israeli Peace:** The United States, Israel, the Palestinians, and the Arab States have an interest in a peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict—one in which the legitimate aspirations of Israelis and Palestinians for security and dignity are realized, and Israel achieves a secure and lasting peace with all of its neighbors.

The United States seeks two states living side by side in peace and security—a Jewish state of Israel, with true security, acceptance, and rights for all Israelis; and a viable, independent Palestine with contiguous territory that ends the occupation that began in 1967 and realizes the potential of the Palestinian people. We will continue to work regionally and with like-minded partners in order to advance negotiations that address the permanent-status issues: security for Israelis and Palestinians; borders, refugees, and Jerusalem. We also seek international support to build the institutions upon which a Palestinian state will depend, while supporting economic development that can bring opportunity to its people.

Any Arab-Israeli peace will only be lasting if harmful regional interference ends and constructive regional support deepens. As we pursue peace between Israelis and Palestinians, we will also pursue peace between Israel and Lebanon, Israel and Syria, and a broader peace between Israel and its neighbors. We will pursue regional initiatives with multilateral participation, alongside bilateral negotiations.

**Promote a Responsible Iran:** For decades, the Islamic Republic of Iran has endangered the security of the region and the United States and failed to live up to its international responsibilities. In addition to its illicit nuclear program, it continues to support terrorism, undermine peace between Israelis and Palestinians, and deny its people their universal rights. Many years of refusing to engage Iran failed to reverse these trends; on the contrary, Iran's behavior became more threatening. Engagement is something we pursue without illusion. It can offer Iran a pathway to a better future, provided Iran's leaders are prepared to take it. But that better pathway can only be achieved if Iran's leaders change course, act to restore the confidence of the international community, and fulfill their obligations. The United States seeks a future in which Iran meets its international responsibilities, takes its rightful place in the community of nations, and enjoys the political and economic opportunities that its people deserve. Yet if the Iranian Government continues to refuse to live up to its international obligations, it will face greater isolation.

### ***Invest in the Capacity of Strong and Capable Partners***

Where governments are incapable of meeting their citizens' basic needs and fulfilling their responsibilities to provide security within their borders, the consequences are often global and may directly threaten the American people. To advance our common security, we must address the underlying political and economic deficits that foster instability, enable radicalization and extremism, and ultimately undermine the ability of governments to manage threats within their borders and to be our partners in addressing common challenges. To invest in the capacity of strong and capable partners, we will work to:

**Foster Security and Reconstruction in the Aftermath of Conflict:** The United States and the international community cannot shy away from the difficult task of pursuing stabilization in conflict and post-conflict environments. In countries like Iraq and Afghanistan, building the capacity necessary for security, economic growth, and good governance is the only path to long term peace and security. But we have also learned that the effectiveness of these efforts is profoundly affected by the capacity of governments and



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the political will of their leaders. We will take these constraints into account in designing appropriate assistance strategies and will facilitate the kind of collaboration that is essential—within our government and with international organizations—in those instances when we engage in the difficult work of helping to bring conflicts to an end.

**Pursue Sustainable and Responsible Security Systems in At-Risk States:** Proactively investing in stronger societies and human welfare is far more effective and efficient than responding after state collapse. The United States must improve its capability to strengthen the security of states at risk of conflict and violence. We will undertake long-term, sustained efforts to strengthen the capacity of security forces to guarantee internal security, defend against external threats, and promote regional security and respect for human rights and the rule of law. We will also continue to strengthen the administrative and oversight capability of civilian security sector institutions, and the effectiveness of criminal justice.

**Prevent the Emergence of Conflict:** Our strategy goes beyond meeting the challenges of today, and includes preventing the challenges and seizing the opportunities of tomorrow. This requires investing now in the capable partners of the future; building today the capacity to strengthen the foundations of our common security, and modernizing our capabilities in order to ensure that we are agile in the face of change. We have already begun to reorient and strengthen our development agenda; to take stock of and enhance our capabilities; and to forge new and more effective means of applying the skills of our military, diplomats, and development experts. These kinds of measures will help us diminish military risk, act before crises and conflicts erupt, and ensure that governments are better able to serve their people.

#### *Secure Cyberspace*

Cybersecurity threats represent one of the most serious national security, public safety, and economic challenges we face as a nation. The very technologies that empower us to lead and create also empower those who would disrupt and destroy. They enable our military superiority, but our unclassified government networks are constantly probed by intruders. Our daily lives and public safety depend on power and electric grids, but potential adversaries could use cyber vulnerabilities to disrupt them on a massive scale. The Internet and e-commerce are keys to our economic competitiveness, but cyber criminals have cost companies and consumers hundreds of millions of dollars and valuable intellectual property.

The threats we face range from individual criminal hackers to organized criminal groups, from terrorist networks to advanced nation states. Defending against these threats to our security, prosperity, and personal privacy requires networks that are secure, trustworthy, and resilient. Our digital infrastructure, therefore, is a strategic national asset, and protecting it—while safeguarding privacy and civil liberties—is a national security priority. We will deter, prevent, detect, defend against, and quickly recover from cyber intrusions and attacks by:

**Investing in People and Technology:** To advance that goal, we are working across the government and with the private sector to design more secure technology that gives us the ability to better protect and to improve the resilience of critical government and industry systems and networks. We will continue to invest in the cutting-edge research and development necessary for the innovation and discovery we need to meet these challenges. We have begun a comprehensive national campaign to promote

cybersecurity awareness and digital literacy from our boardrooms to our classrooms and to build a digital workforce for the 21st century.

**Strengthening Partnerships:** Neither government nor the private sector nor individual citizens can meet this challenge alone—we will expand the ways we work together. We will also strengthen our international partnerships on a range of issues, including the development of norms for acceptable conduct in cyberspace; laws concerning cybercrime; data preservation, protection, and privacy; and approaches for network defense and response to cyber attacks. We will work with all the key players—including all levels of government and the private sector, nationally and internationally—to investigate cyber intrusion and to ensure an organized and unified response to future cyber incidents. Just as we do for natural disasters, we have to have plans and resources in place beforehand.

## Prosperity

“The answers to our problems don’t lie beyond our reach. They exist in our laboratories and universities; in our fields and our factories; in the imaginations of our entrepreneurs and the pride of the hardest-working people on Earth. Those qualities that have made America the greatest force of progress and prosperity in human history we still possess in ample measure. What is required now is for this country to pull together, confront boldly the challenges we face, and take responsibility for our future once more.”

—President Barack Obama, Address to Joint Session of Congress, February 24, 2009

The foundation of American leadership must be a prosperous American economy. And a growing and open global economy serves as a source of opportunity for the American people and a source of strength for the United States. The free flow of information, people, goods, and services has also advanced peace among nations, as those places that have emerged more prosperous are often more stable. Yet we have also seen how shocks to the global economy can precipitate disaster—including the loss of jobs, a decline in standards of living in parts of our country, and instability and a loss of U.S. influence abroad. Meanwhile, growing prosperity around the world has made economic power more diffuse, creating a more competitive environment for America’s people and businesses.

To allow each American to pursue the opportunity upon which our prosperity depends, we must build a stronger foundation for economic growth. That foundation must include access to a complete and competitive education for every American; a transformation of the way that we produce and use energy, so that we reduce our dependence on fossil fuels and lead the world in creating new jobs and industry; access to quality, affordable health care so our people, businesses, and government are not constrained by rising costs; and the responsible management of our Federal budget so that we balance our priorities and are not burdened by debt. To succeed, we must also ensure that America stays on the cutting edge of the science and innovation that supports our prosperity, defense, and international technological leadership.

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This new foundation must underpin and sustain an international economic system that is critical to both our prosperity and to the peace and security of the world. We must reinvigorate and fortify it for the 21st century: by preventing cycles of boom and bust with new rules of the road at home and abroad; by saving more and spending less; by resisting protectionism and promoting trade that is free and fair; by coordinating our actions with other countries, and reforming international institutions to give emerging economies a greater voice and greater responsibility; and by supporting development that promotes good governance, unleashes the potential of different populations, and creates new markets overseas. Taken together, these actions can ensure inclusive growth that is balanced and sustained.

#### *Strengthen Education and Human Capital*

In a global economy of vastly increased mobility and interdependence, our own prosperity and leadership depends increasingly on our ability to provide our citizens with the education that they need to succeed, while attracting the premier human capital for our workforce. We must ensure that the most innovative ideas take root in America, while providing our people with the skills that they need to compete. That means we must:

**Improve Education at All Levels:** The United States has lost ground in education, even as our competitiveness depends on educating our children to succeed in a global economy based on knowledge and innovation. We are working to provide a complete and competitive education for all Americans, to include supporting high standards for early learning, reforming public schools, increasing access to higher education and job training, and promoting high-demand skills and education for emerging industries. We will also restore U.S. leadership in higher education by seeking the goal of leading the world in the proportion of college graduates by 2020.

**Invest in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math Education (STEM):** America's long-term leadership depends on educating and producing future scientists and innovators. We will invest more in STEM education so students can learn to think critically in science, math, engineering, and technology; improve the quality of math and science teaching so American students are no longer outperformed by those in other nations; and expand STEM education and career opportunities for underrepresented groups, including women and girls. We will work with partners—from the private-sector and nonprofit organizations to universities—to promote education and careers in science and technology.

**Increase International Education and Exchange:** The pervasiveness of the English language and American cultural influence are great advantages to Americans traveling, working, and negotiating in foreign countries. But we must develop skills to help us succeed in a dynamic and diverse global economy. We will support programs that cultivate interest and scholarship in foreign languages and intercultural affairs, including international exchange programs. This will allow our citizens to build connections with peoples overseas and to develop skills and contacts that will help them thrive in the global economy. We must also welcome more foreign exchange students to our shores, recognizing the benefits that can result from deeper ties with foreign publics and increased understanding of American society.

**Pursue Comprehensive Immigration Reform:** The United States is a nation of immigrants. Our ability to innovate, our ties to the world, and our economic prosperity depend on our nation's capacity to welcome and assimilate immigrants, and a visa system which welcomes skilled professionals from around the

world. At the same time, effective border security and immigration enforcement must keep the country safe and deter unlawful entry. Indeed, persistent problems in immigration policy consume valuable resources needed to advance other security objectives and make it harder to focus on the most dangerous threats facing our country. Ultimately, our national security depends on striking a balance between security and openness. To advance this goal, we must pursue comprehensive immigration reform that effectively secures our borders, while repairing a broken system that fails to serve the needs of our nation.

### *Enhance Science, Technology, and Innovation*

Reaffirming America's role as the global engine of scientific discovery and technological innovation has never been more critical. Challenges like climate change, pandemic disease, and resource scarcity demand new innovation. Meanwhile, the nation that leads the world in building a clean energy economy will enjoy a substantial economic and security advantage. That is why the Administration is investing heavily in research, improving education in science and math, promoting developments in energy, and expanding international cooperation.

**Transform our Energy Economy:** As long as we are dependent on fossil fuels, we need to ensure the security and free flow of global energy resources. But without significant and timely adjustments, our energy dependence will continue to undermine our security and prosperity. This will leave us vulnerable to energy supply disruptions and manipulation and to changes in the environment on an unprecedented scale.

The United States has a window of opportunity to lead in the development of clean energy technology. If successful, the United States will lead in this new Industrial Revolution in clean energy that will be a major contributor to our economic prosperity. If we do not develop the policies that encourage the private sector to seize the opportunity, the United States will fall behind and increasingly become an importer of these new energy technologies.

We have already made the largest investment in clean energy in history, but there is much more to do to build on this foundation. We must continue to transform our energy economy, leveraging private capital to accelerate deployment of clean energy technologies that will cut greenhouse gas emissions, improve energy efficiency, increase use of renewable and nuclear power, reduce the dependence of vehicles on oil, and diversify energy sources and suppliers. We will invest in research and next-generation technology, modernize the way we distribute electricity, and encourage the usage of transitional fuels, while moving towards clean energy produced at home.

**Invest in Research:** Research and development is central to our broader national capacity. Incidents like the outbreak of H1N1 influenza and the challenge of identifying new, renewable sources of energy highlight the importance of research in basic and applied science. We are reversing the decades-long decline in federal funding for research, including the single largest infusion to basic science research in American history. Research and innovation is not something government can do on its own, which is why we will support and create incentives to encourage private initiatives. The United States has always excelled in our ability to turn science and technology into engineering and products, and we must continue to do so in the future.

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**Expand International Science Partnerships:** America's scientific leadership has always been widely admired around the world, and we must continue to expand cooperation and partnership in science and technology. We have launched a number of Science Envoys around the globe and are promoting stronger relationships between American scientists, universities, and researchers and their counterparts abroad. We will reestablish a commitment to science and technology in our foreign assistance efforts and develop a strategy for international science and national security.

**Employ Technology to Protect our Nation:** Our renewed commitment to science and technology—and our ability to apply the ingenuity of our public and private sectors toward the most difficult foreign policy and security challenges of our time—will help us protect our citizens and advance U.S. national security priorities. These include, for example, protecting U.S. and allied forces from asymmetric attacks; supporting arms control and nonproliferation agreements; preventing terrorists from attacking our homeland; preventing and managing widespread disease outbreaks; securing the supply chain; detecting weapons of mass destruction before they reach our borders; and protecting our information, communication, and transportation infrastructure.

**Leverage and Grow our Space Capabilities:** For over 50 years, our space community has been a catalyst for innovation and a hallmark of U.S. technological leadership. Our space capabilities underpin global commerce and scientific advancements and bolster our national security strengths and those of our allies and partners. To promote security and stability in space, we will pursue activities consistent with the inherent right of self-defense, deepen cooperation with allies and friends, and work with all nations toward the responsible and peaceful use of space. To maintain the advantages afforded to the United States by space, we must also take several actions. We must continue to encourage cutting-edge space technology by investing in the people and industrial base that develops them. We will invest in the research and development of next-generation space technologies and capabilities that benefit our commercial, civil, scientific exploration, and national security communities, in order to maintain the viability of space for future generations. And we will promote a unified effort to strengthen our space industrial base and work with universities to encourage students to pursue space-related careers.

#### ***Achieve Balanced and Sustainable Growth***

Balanced and sustainable growth, at home and throughout the global economy, drives the momentum of the U.S. economy and underpins our prosperity. A steadily growing global economy means an expanding market for exports of our goods and services. Over time, deepening linkages among markets and businesses will provide the setting in which the energies and entrepreneurship of our private sector can flourish, generating technologies, business growth, and job creation that will boost living standards for Americans. United States economic leadership now has to adapt to the rising prominence of emerging economies; the growing size, speed, and sophistication of financial markets; the multiplicity of market participants around the globe; and the struggling economies that have so far failed to integrate into the global system.

To promote prosperity for all Americans, we will need to lead the international community to expand the inclusive growth of the integrated, global economy. At the same time, we will need to lead international efforts to prevent a recurrence of economic imbalances and financial excesses, while managing the

many security threats and global challenges that affect global economic stability. To promote growth that can be balanced and sustained, we will:

**Prevent Renewed Instability in the Global Economy:** The recent crisis taught us the very high cost of the boom and bust cycle that has plagued the global economy and has served neither the United States nor our international partners. Once Americans found themselves in debt or out of work, our demand for foreign goods fell sharply. As foreign economies weakened, their financial institutions and public finances came under stress too, reinforcing the global slowdown. We must prevent the reemergence of imbalanced growth, with American consumers buying and borrowing, and Asian and other exporting countries selling and accumulating claims. We must pursue reform of the U.S. financial system to strengthen the health of our economy and encourage Americans to save more. And we must prevent the reemergence of excesses in our financial institutions based on irresponsible lending behavior, and abetted by lax and uncoordinated regulation.

**Save More And Export More:** Striking a better balance at home means saving more and spending less, reforming our financial system, and reducing our long-term budget deficit. With those changes, we will see a greater emphasis on exports that we can build, produce, and sell all over the world, with the goal of doubling U.S. exports by 2014. This is ultimately an employment strategy, because higher exports will support millions of well-paying American jobs, including those that service innovative and profitable new technologies. As a part of that effort, we are reforming our export controls consistent with our national security imperatives.

**Shift To Greater Domestic Demand Abroad:** For the rest of the world, especially in some emerging market and developing countries, a better balance means placing greater emphasis on increasing domestic demand as the leading driver of growth and opening markets. Those countries will be able to import the capital and technologies needed to sustain the remarkable productivity gains already underway. Rebalancing will provide an opportunity for workers and consumers over time to enjoy the higher standards of living made possible by those gains. As balanced growth translates into sustained growth, middle-income, and poor countries, many of which are not yet sufficiently integrated into the global economy, can accelerate the process of convergence of living standards toward richer countries—a process that will become a driver of growth for the global economy for decades to come.

**Open Foreign Markets to Our Products and Services:** The United States has long had one of the most open markets in the world. We have been a leader in expanding an open trading system. That has underwritten the growth of other developed and emerging markets alike. Openness has also forced our companies and workers to compete and innovate, and at the same time, has offered market access crucial to the success of so many countries around the world. We will maintain our open investment environment, consistent with our national security goals. In this new era, opening markets around the globe will promote global competition and innovation and will be crucial to our prosperity. We will pursue a trade agenda that includes an ambitious and balanced Doha multilateral trade agreement, bilateral and multilateral trade agreements that reflect our values and interests, and engagement with the transpacific partnership countries to shape a regional agreement with high standards.

As we go forward, our trade policy will be an important part of our effort to capitalize on the opportunities presented by globalization, but will also be part of our effort to equip Americans to compete. To make



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trade agreements work for Americans, we will take steps to restore confidence, with realistic programs to deal with transition costs, and promote innovation, infrastructure, healthcare reform and education. Our agreements will contain achievable enforcement mechanisms to ensure that the gains we negotiate are in fact realized and will be structured to reflect U.S. interests, especially on labor and environment.

**Build Cooperation with Our International Partners:** The United States has supported the G-20's emergence as the premier forum for international economic cooperation. This flows from the recognition that we need a broader and more inclusive engagement with the countries responsible for most of global output and trade. U.S. leadership in the G-20 will be focused on securing sustainable and balanced growth, coordinating reform of financial sector regulation, fostering global economic development, and promoting energy security. We also need official international financial institutions to be as modern and agile as the global economy they serve. Through the G-20, we will pursue governance reform at the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. We will also broaden our leadership in other international financial institutions so that the rapidly growing countries of the world see their representation increase and are willing to invest those institutions with the authority they need to promote the stability and growth of global output and trade.

**Deterring Threats to the International Financial System:** Today's open and global financial system also exposes us to global financial threats. Just as we work to make the most of the opportunities that globalization brings, the actors that pose a threat to our national security—terrorists, proliferators, narcotics traffickers, corrupt officials, and others—are abusing the global financial system to raise, move, and safeguard funds that support their illicit activities or from which they derive profit. Their support networks have global reach and are not contained by national borders. Our strategy to attack these networks must respond in kind and target their illicit resources and access to the global financial system through financial measures, administration and enforcement of regulatory authorities, outreach to the private sector and our foreign partners, and collaboration on international standards and information sharing.

#### *Accelerate Sustainable Development*

The growth of emerging economies in recent decades has lifted people out of poverty and forged a more interconnected and vibrant global economy. But development has been uneven, progress is fragile, and too many of the world's people still live without the benefits that development affords. While some countries are growing, many lag behind—mired in insecurity, constrained by poor governance, or overly dependent upon commodity prices. But sustained economic progress requires faster, sustainable, and more inclusive development. That is why we are pursuing a range of specific initiatives in areas such as food security and global health that will be essential to the future security and prosperity of nations and peoples around the globe.

**Increase Investments in Development:** The United States has an interest in working with our allies to help the world's poorest countries grow into productive and prosperous economies governed by capable, democratic, and accountable state institutions. We will ensure a greater and more deliberate focus on a global development agenda across the United States Government, from policy analysis through policy implementation. We are increasing our foreign assistance, expanding our investments in effective multilateral development institutions, and leveraging the engagement of others to share the burden.

**Invest in the Foundations of Long-Term Development:** The United States will initiate long-term investments that recognize and reward governments that demonstrate the capacity and political will to pursue sustainable development strategies and ensure that all policy instruments at our disposal are harnessed to these ends. And we will provide our support in multiple ways—by strengthening the ability of governments and communities to manage development challenges and investing in strong institutions that foster the democratic accountability that helps sustain development. This will expand the circle of nations—particularly in Africa—who are capable of reaping the benefits of the global economy, while contributing to global security and prosperity.

**Exercise Leadership in the Provision of Global Public Goods:** Our approach needs to reflect the fact that there are a set of development challenges that strongly affect the likelihood of progress, but cannot be addressed by individual countries acting alone. Particularly in Africa, these challenges—such as adaptation to global warming, the control of epidemic disease, and the knowledge to increase agricultural productivity—are not adequately addressed in bilateral efforts. We will shape the international architecture and work with our global partners to address these challenges, and increase our investments and engagement to transition to a low-carbon growth trajectory, support the resilience of the poorest nations to the effects of climate change, and strengthen food security. We must also pursue potential “game changers” for development such as new vaccines, weather-resistant seed varieties, and green energy technologies.

### ***Spend Taxpayers’ Dollars Wisely***

The United States Government has an obligation to make the best use of taxpayer money, and our ability to achieve long-term goals depends upon our fiscal responsibility. A responsible budget involves making tough choices to live within our means; holding departments and agencies accountable for their spending and their performance; harnessing technology to improve government performance; and being open and honest with the American people. A responsible budget also depends upon working with our global partners and institutions to share burdens and leverage U.S. investments to achieve global goals. Our national security goals can only be reached if we make hard choices and work with international partners to share burdens.

**Reduce the Deficit:** We cannot grow our economy in the long term unless we put the United States back on a sustainable fiscal path. To begin this effort, the Administration has proposed a 3-year freeze in nonsecurity discretionary spending, a new fee on the largest financial services companies to recoup taxpayer losses for the Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP), and the closing of tax loopholes and unnecessary subsidies. The Administration has created a bipartisan fiscal commission to suggest further steps for medium-term deficit reduction and will work for fiscally responsible health insurance reform that will bring down the rate of growth in health care costs, a key driver of the country’s fiscal future.

**Reform Acquisition and Contracting Processes:** Wasteful spending, duplicative programs, and contracts with poor oversight have no place in the United States Government. Cost-effective and efficient processes are particularly important for the Department of Defense, which accounts for approximately 70 percent of all Federal procurement spending. We will scrutinize our programs and terminate or restructure those that are outdated, duplicative, ineffective, or wasteful. The result will be more relevant,



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capable, and effective programs and systems that our military wants and needs. We are also reforming Federal contracting and strengthening contracting practices and management oversight with a goal of saving Federal agencies \$40 billion dollars a year.

**Increase Transparency:** Americans have a right to know how their tax dollars are spent, but that information can be obscured or unavailable. In some instances, incomplete accounting of the budget has been used to conceal the reality of our fiscal situation. To uphold our commitment to a transparent budget process, we are simultaneously requesting both base budget and overseas contingency operations costs, with the same amount of justification and explanatory material for each, so that Americans can see the true cost of our war efforts and hold leaders accountable for decisions with all of the facts.

## Values

“We uphold our most cherished values not only because doing so is right, but because it strengthens our country and keeps us safe. Time and again, our values have been our best national security asset—in war and peace, in times of ease, and in eras of upheaval. Fidelity to our values is the reason why the United States of America grew from a small string of colonies under the writ of an empire to the strongest nation in the world.”

—President Barack Obama, National Archives, May 21, 2009

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The United States believes certain values are universal and will work to promote them worldwide. These include an individual's freedom to speak their mind, assemble without fear, worship as they please, and choose their own leaders; they also include dignity, tolerance, and equality among all people, and the fair and equitable administration of justice. The United States was founded upon a belief in these values. At home, fidelity to these values has extended the promise of America ever more fully, to ever more people. Abroad, these values have been claimed by people of every race, region, and religion. Most nations are parties to international agreements that recognize this commonality. And nations that embrace these values for their citizens are ultimately more successful—and friendly to the United States—than those that do not.

Yet after an era that saw substantial gains for these values around the world, democratic development has stalled in recent years. In some cultures, these values are being equated with the ugly face of modernity and are seen to encroach upon cherished identities. In other countries, autocratic rulers have repressed basic human rights and democratic practices in the name of economic development and national unity. Even where some governments have adopted democratic practices, authoritarian rulers have undermined electoral processes and restricted the space for opposition and civil society, imposing a growing number of legal restrictions so as to impede the rights of people to assemble and to access information. And while there has been substantial progress in combating poverty in many parts of the world, too many of the world's people still lack the dignity that comes with the opportunity to pursue a better life.

The United States supports those who seek to exercise universal rights around the world. We promote our values above all by living them at home. We continue to engage nations, institutions, and peoples in pursuit of these values abroad. And we recognize the link between development and political progress. In doing so, our goals are realistic, as we recognize that different cultures and traditions give life to these values in distinct ways. Moreover, America's influence comes not from perfection, but from our striving to overcome our imperfections. The constant struggle to perfect our union is what makes the American story inspiring. That is why acknowledging our past shortcomings—and highlighting our efforts to remedy them—is a means of promoting our values.

America will not impose any system of government on another country, but our long-term security and prosperity depends on our steady support for universal values, which sets us apart from our enemies, adversarial governments, and many potential competitors for influence. We will do so through a variety of means—by speaking out for universal rights, supporting fragile democracies and civil society, and supporting the dignity that comes with development.

### *Strengthen the Power of Our Example*

More than any other action that we have taken, the power of America's example has helped spread freedom and democracy abroad. That is why we must always seek to uphold these values not just when it is easy, but when it is hard. Advancing our interests may involve new arrangements to confront threats like terrorism, but these practices and structures must always be in line with our Constitution, preserve our people's privacy and civil liberties, and withstand the checks and balances that have served us so well. To sustain our fidelity to our values—and our credibility to promote them around the world—we will continue to:

**Prohibit Torture without Exception or Equivocation:** Brutal methods of interrogation are inconsistent with our values, undermine the rule of law, and are not effective means of obtaining information. They alienate the United States from the world. They serve as a recruitment and propaganda tool for terrorists. They increase the will of our enemies to fight against us, and endanger our troops when they are captured. The United States will not use or support these methods.

**Legal Aspects of Countering Terrorism:** The increased risk of terrorism necessitates a capacity to detain and interrogate suspected violent extremists, but that framework must align with our laws to be effective and sustainable. When we are able, we will prosecute terrorists in Federal courts or in reformed military commissions that are fair, legitimate, and effective. For detainees who cannot be prosecuted—but pose a danger to the American people—we must have clear, defensible, and lawful standards. We must have fair procedures and a thorough process of periodic review, so that any prolonged detention is carefully evaluated and justified. And keeping with our Constitutional system, it will be subject to checks and balances. The goal is an approach that can be sustained by future Administrations, with support from both political parties and all three branches of government.

**Balance the Imperatives of Secrecy and Transparency:** For the sake of our security, some information must be protected from public disclosure—for instance, to protect our troops, our sources and methods of intelligence-gathering or confidential actions that keep the American people safe. Yet our democracy depends upon transparency, and whenever possible, we are making information available to the

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American people so that they can make informed judgments and hold their leaders accountable. For instance, when we invoke the State Secrets privilege, we will follow clear procedures so as to provide greater accountability and to ensure the privilege is invoked only when necessary and in the narrowest way possible. We will never invoke the privilege to hide a violation of law or to avoid embarrassment to the government.

**Protect Civil Liberties, Privacy, and Oversight:** Protecting civil liberties and privacy are integral to the vibrancy of our democracy and the exercise of freedom. We are balancing our solemn commitments to these virtues with the mandate to provide security for the American people. Vigorous oversight of national security activities by our three branches of government and vigilant compliance with the rule of law allow us to maintain this balance, affirm to our friends and allies the constitutional ideals we uphold.

**Uphold the Rule of Law:** The rule of law—and our capacity to enforce it—advances our national security and strengthens our leadership. At home, fidelity to our laws and support for our law enforcement community safeguards American citizens and interests, while protecting and advancing our values. Around the globe, it allows us to hold actors accountable, while supporting both international security and the stability of the global economy. America’s commitment to the rule of law is fundamental to our efforts to build an international order that is capable of confronting the emerging challenges of the 21st century.

**Draw Strength from Diversity:** The United States has benefited throughout our history when we have drawn strength from our diversity. While those who advocate on behalf of extremist ideologies seek to sow discord among ethnic and religious groups, America stands as an example of how people from different backgrounds can be united through their commitment to shared values. Within our own communities, those who seek to recruit and radicalize individuals will often try to prey upon isolation and alienation. Our own commitment to extending the promise of America will both draw a contrast with those who try to drive people apart, while countering attempts to enlist individuals in ideological, religious, or ethnic extremism.

#### ***Promote Democracy and Human Rights Abroad***

The United States supports the expansion of democracy and human rights abroad because governments that respect these values are more just, peaceful, and legitimate. We also do so because their success abroad fosters an environment that supports America’s national interests. Political systems that protect universal rights are ultimately more stable, successful, and secure. As our history shows, the United States can more effectively forge consensus to tackle shared challenges when working with governments that reflect the will and respect the rights of their people, rather than just the narrow interests of those in power. The United States is advancing universal values by:

**Ensuring that New and Fragile Democracies Deliver Tangible Improvements for Their Citizens:** The United States must support democracy, human rights, and development together, as they are mutually reinforcing. We are working closely with citizens, communities, and political and civil society leaders to strengthen key institutions of democratic accountability—free and fair electoral processes, strong legislatures, civilian control of militaries, honest police forces, independent and fair judiciaries, a free and independent press, a vibrant private sector, and a robust civil society. To do so, we are harnessing

our bilateral and multilateral capabilities to help nascent democracies deliver services that respond to the needs and preferences of their citizens, since democracies without development rarely survive.

**Practicing Principled Engagement with Non-Democratic Regimes:** Even when we are focused on interests such as counterterrorism, nonproliferation, or enhancing economic ties, we will always seek in parallel to expand individual rights and opportunities through our bilateral engagement. The United States is pursuing a dual-track approach in which we seek to improve government-to-government relations and use this dialogue to advance human rights, while engaging civil society and peaceful political opposition, and encouraging U.S. nongovernmental actors to do the same. More substantive government-to-government relations can create permissive conditions for civil society to operate and for more extensive people-to-people exchanges. But when our overtures are rebuffed, we must lead the international community in using public and private diplomacy, and drawing on incentives and disincentives, in an effort to change repressive behavior.

**Recognizing the Legitimacy of All Peaceful Democratic Movements:** America respects the right of all peaceful, law-abiding, and nonviolent voices to be heard around the world, even if we disagree with them. Support for democracy must not be about support for specific candidates or movements. America will welcome all legitimately elected, peaceful governments, provided they govern with respect for the rights and dignity of all their people and consistent with their international obligations. Those who seek democracy to obtain power, but are ruthless once they do, will forfeit the support of the United States. Governments must maintain power through consent, not coercion, and place legitimate political processes above party or narrow interest.

**Supporting the Rights of Women and Girls:** Women should have access to the same opportunities and be able to make the same choices as men. Experience shows that countries are more peaceful and prosperous when women are accorded full and equal rights and opportunity. When those rights and opportunities are denied, countries often lag behind. Furthermore, women and girls often disproportionately bear the burden of crises and conflict. Therefore the United States is working with regional and international organizations to prevent violence against women and girls, especially in conflict zones. We are supporting women's equal access to justice and their participation in the political process. We are promoting child and maternal health. We are combating human trafficking, especially in women and girls, through domestic and international law enforcement. And we are supporting education, employment, and micro-finance to empower women globally.

**Strengthening International Norms Against Corruption:** We are working within the broader international system, including the U.N., G-20, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the international financial institutions, to promote the recognition that pervasive corruption is a violation of basic human rights and a severe impediment to development and global security. We will work with governments and civil society organizations to bring greater transparency and accountability to government budgets, expenditures, and the assets of public officials. And we will institutionalize transparent practices in international aid flows, international banking and tax policy, and private sector engagement around natural resources to make it harder for officials to steal and to strengthen the efforts of citizens to hold their governments accountable.

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**Building a Broader Coalition of Actors to Advance Universal Values:** We are working to build support for democracy, rule of law, and human rights by working with other governments, nongovernmental organizations, and multilateral fora. The United States is committed to working to shape and strengthen existing institutions that are not delivering on their potential, such as the United Nations Human Rights Council. We are working within the broader U.N. system and through regional mechanisms to strengthen human rights monitoring and enforcement mechanisms, so that individuals and countries are held accountable for their violation of international human rights norms. And we will actively support the leadership of emerging democracies as they assume a more active role in advancing basic human rights and democratic values in their regions and on the global stage.

**Marshalling New Technologies and Promoting the Right to Access Information:** The emergence of technologies such as the Internet, wireless networks, mobile smart-phones, investigative forensics, satellite and aerial imagery, and distributed remote sensing infrastructure has created powerful new opportunities to advance democracy and human rights. These technologies have fueled people-powered political movements, made it possible to shine a spotlight on human rights abuses nearly instantaneously, and increased avenues for free speech and unrestricted communication around the world. We support the dissemination and use of these technologies to facilitate freedom of expression, expand access to information, increase governmental transparency and accountability, and counter restrictions on their use. We will also better utilize such technologies to effectively communicate our own messages to the world.

#### *Promote Dignity by Meeting Basic Needs*

The freedom that America stands for includes freedom from want. Basic human rights cannot thrive in places where human beings do not have access to enough food, or clean water, or the medicine they need to survive. The United States has embraced the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals and is working with others in pursuit of the eradication of extreme poverty—efforts that are particularly critical to the future of nations and peoples of Africa. And we will continue to promote the dignity that comes through development efforts such as:

**Pursuing a Comprehensive Global Health Strategy:** The United States has a moral and strategic interest in promoting global health. When a child dies of a preventable disease, it offends our conscience; when a disease goes unchecked, it can endanger our own health; when children are sick, development is stalled. That is why we are continuing to invest in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Through the Global Health Initiative, we will strengthen health systems and invest in interventions to address areas where progress has lagged, including maternal and child health. And we are also pursuing the goal of reducing the burden of malaria and tuberculosis and seeking the elimination of important neglected tropical diseases.

**Promoting Food Security:** The United States is working with partners around the world to advance a food security initiative that combats hunger and builds the capacity of countries to feed their people. Instead of simply providing aid for developing countries, we are focusing on new methods and technologies for agricultural development. This is consistent with an approach in which aid is not an end in itself—the purpose of our foreign assistance will be to create the conditions where it is no longer needed.

**Leading Efforts to Address Humanitarian Crises:** Together with the American people and the international community, we will continue to respond to humanitarian crises to ensure that those in need have the

protection and assistance they need. In such circumstances, we are also placing a greater emphasis on fostering long-term recovery. Haiti's devastating earthquake is only the most recent reminder of the human and material consequences of natural disasters, and a changing climate portends a future in which the United States must be better prepared and resourced to exercise robust leadership to help meet critical humanitarian needs.

## International Order

"As President of the United States, I will work tirelessly to protect America's security and to advance our interests. But no one nation can meet the challenges of the 21st century on its own, nor dictate its terms to the world. That is why America seeks an international system that lets nations pursue their interests peacefully, especially when those interests diverge; a system where the universal rights of human beings are respected, and violations of those rights are opposed; a system where we hold ourselves to the same standards that we apply to other nations, with clear rights and responsibilities for all."

—President Barack Obama, Moscow, Russia, July 7, 2009

The United States will protect its people and advance our prosperity irrespective of the actions of any other nation, but we have an interest in a just and sustainable international order that can foster collective action to confront common challenges. This international order will support our efforts to advance security, prosperity, and universal values, but it is also an end that we seek in its own right. Because without such an international order, the forces of instability and disorder will undermine global security. And without effective mechanisms to forge international cooperation, challenges that recognize no borders—such as climate change, pandemic disease, and transnational crime—will persist and potentially spread.

International institutions—most prominently NATO and the United Nations—have been at the center of our international order since the mid 20th century. Yet, an international architecture that was largely forged in the wake of World War II is buckling under the weight of new threats, making us less able to seize new opportunities. Even though many defining trends of the 21st century affect all nations and peoples, too often, the mutual interests of nations and peoples are ignored in favor of suspicion and self-defeating competition.

What is needed, therefore, is a realignment of national actions and international institutions with shared interests. And when national interests do collide—or countries prioritize their interests in different ways—those nations that defy international norms or fail to meet their sovereign responsibilities will be denied the incentives that come with greater integration and collaboration with the international community.

No international order can be supported by international institutions alone. Our mutual interests must be underpinned by bilateral, multilateral, and global strategies that address underlying sources of insecurity and build new spheres of cooperation. To that end, strengthening bilateral and multilateral



cooperation cannot be accomplished simply by working inside formal institutions and frameworks. It requires sustained outreach to foreign governments, political leaderships, and other critical constituencies that must commit the necessary capabilities and resources to enable effective, collective action. And it means building upon our traditional alliances, while also cultivating partnerships with new centers of influence. Taken together, these approaches will allow us to foster more effective global cooperation to confront challenges that know no borders and affect every nation.

#### ***Ensure Strong Alliances***

The foundation of United States, regional, and global security will remain America's relations with our allies, and our commitment to their security is unshakable. These relationships must be constantly cultivated, not just because they are indispensable for U.S. interests and national security objectives, but because they are fundamental to our collective security. Alliances are force multipliers: through multinational cooperation and coordination, the sum of our actions is always greater than if we act alone. We will continue to maintain the capacity to defend our allies against old and new threats. We will also continue to closely consult with our allies as well as newly emerging partners and organizations so that we revitalize and expand our cooperation to achieve common objectives. And we will continue to mutually benefit from the collective security provided by strong alliances.

Although the United States and our allies and partners may sometimes disagree on specific issues, we will act based upon mutual respect and in a manner that continues to strengthen an international order that benefits all responsible international actors.

**Strengthening Security Relationships:** Our ability to sustain these alliances, and to build coalitions of support toward common objectives, depends in part on the capabilities of America's Armed Forces. Similarly, the relationships our Armed Forces have developed with foreign militaries are a critical component of our global engagement and support our collective security.

We will continue to ensure that we can prevail against a wide range of potential adversaries—to include hostile states and nonstate actors—while broadly shaping the strategic environment using all tools to advance our common security. We will continue to reassure our allies and partners by retaining our ability to bring precise, sustained, and effective capabilities to bear against a wide range of military threats and decisively defeat the forces of hostile regional powers. We will work with our allies and partners to enhance the resilience of U.S. forward posture and facilities against potential attacks. Finally, we will strengthen our regional deterrence postures—for example, through phased, adaptive missile defense architectures—in order to make certain that regional adversaries gain no advantages from their acquisition of new, offensive military capabilities.

**European Allies:** Our relationship with our European allies remains the cornerstone for U.S. engagement with the world, and a catalyst for international action. We will engage with our allies bilaterally, and pursue close consultation on a broad range of security and economic issues. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is the pre-eminent security alliance in the world today. With our 27 NATO allies, and the many partners with which NATO cooperates, we will strengthen our collective ability to promote security, deter vital threats, and defend our people. NATO's new Strategic Concept will provide an opportunity to revitalize and reform the Alliance. We are committed to ensuring that NATO is able to

address the full range of 21st century challenges, while serving as a foundation of European security. And we will continue to anchor our commitment in Article V, which is fundamental to our collective security.

Building on European aspirations for greater integration, we are committed to partnering with a stronger European Union to advance our shared goals, especially in promoting democracy and prosperity in Eastern European countries that are still completing their democratic transition and in responding to pressing issues of mutual concern. We will remain dedicated to advancing stability and democracy in the Balkans and to resolving conflicts in the Caucasus and in Cyprus. We will continue to engage with Turkey on a broad range of mutual goals, especially with regard to pursuit of stability in its region. And we will seek to strengthen existing European institutions so that they are more inclusive and more effective in building confidence, reducing tensions, and protecting freedom.

**Asian Allies:** Our alliances with Japan, South Korea, Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand are the bedrock of security in Asia and a foundation of prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region. We will continue to deepen and update these alliances to reflect the dynamism of the region and strategic trends of the 21st century. Japan and South Korea are increasingly important leaders in addressing regional and global issues, as well as in embodying and promoting our common democratic values. We are modernizing our security relationships with both countries to face evolving 21st century global security challenges and to reflect the principle of equal partnership with the United States and to ensure a sustainable foundation for the U.S. military presence there. We are working together with our allies to develop a positive security agenda for the region, focused on regional security, combating the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, climate change, international piracy, epidemics, and cybersecurity, while achieving balanced growth and human rights.

In partnership with our allies, the United States is helping to offer a future of security and integration to all Asian nations and to uphold and extend fundamental rights and dignity to all of its people. These alliances have preserved a hard-earned peace and strengthened the bridges of understanding across the Pacific Ocean in the second half of the 20th century, and it is essential to U.S., Asian, and global security that they are as dynamic and effective in the 21st century.

**North America:** The strategic partnerships and unique relationships we maintain with Canada and Mexico are critical to U.S. national security and have a direct effect on the security of our homeland. With billions of dollars in trade, shared critical infrastructure, and millions of our citizens moving across our common borders, no two countries are more directly connected to our daily lives. We must change the way we think about our shared borders, in order to secure and expedite the lawful and legitimate flow of people and goods while interdicting transnational threat that threaten our open societies.

Canada is our closest trading partner, a steadfast security ally, and an important partner in regional and global efforts. Our mutual prosperity is closely interconnected, including through our trade relationship with Mexico through NAFTA. With Canada, our security cooperation includes our defense of North America and our efforts through NATO overseas. And our cooperation is critical to the success of international efforts on issues ranging from international climate negotiations to economic cooperation through the G-20.

With Mexico, in addition to trade cooperation, we are working together to identify and interdict threats at the earliest opportunity, even before they reach North America. Stability and security in Mexico are



indispensable to building a strong economic partnership, fighting the illicit drug and arms trade, and promoting sound immigration policy.

#### *Build Cooperation with Other 21st Century Centers of Influence*

The United States is part of a dynamic international environment, in which different nations are exerting greater influence, and advancing our interests will require expanding spheres of cooperation around the world. Certain bilateral relationships—such as U.S. relations with China, India, and Russia—will be critical to building broader cooperation on areas of mutual interest. And emerging powers in every region of the world are increasingly asserting themselves, raising opportunities for partnership for the United States.

**Asia:** Asia's dramatic economic growth has increased its connection to America's future prosperity, and its emerging centers of influence make it increasingly important. We have taken substantial steps to deepen our engagement in the region, through regional organizations, new dialogues, and high-level diplomacy. The United States has deep and enduring ties with the countries of the region, including trade and investment that drive growth and prosperity on both sides of the Pacific, and enhancing these ties is critical to our efforts to advance balanced and sustainable growth and to doubling U.S. exports. We have increasing security cooperation on issues such as violent extremism and nuclear proliferation. We will work to advance these mutual interests through our alliances, deepen our relationships with emerging powers, and pursue a stronger role in the region's multilateral architecture, including the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, the Trans-Pacific Partnership, and the East Asia Summit.

We will continue to pursue a positive, constructive, and comprehensive relationship with China. We welcome a China that takes on a responsible leadership role in working with the

United States and the international community to advance priorities like economic recovery, confronting climate change, and nonproliferation. We will monitor China's military modernization program and prepare accordingly to ensure that U.S. interests and allies, regionally and globally, are not negatively affected. More broadly, we will encourage China to make choices that contribute to peace, security, and prosperity as its influence rises. We are using our newly established Strategic and Economic Dialogue to address a broader range of issues, and improve communication between our militaries in order to reduce mistrust. We will encourage continued reduction in tension between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan. We will not agree on every issue, and we will be candid on our human rights concerns and areas where we differ. But disagreements should not prevent cooperation on issues of mutual interest, because a pragmatic and effective relationship between the United States and China is essential to address the major challenges of the 21st century.

The United States and India are building a strategic partnership that is underpinned by our shared interests, our shared values as the world's two largest democracies, and close connections among our people. India's responsible advancement serves as a positive example for developing nations, and provides an opportunity for increased economic, scientific, environmental, and security partnership. Working together through our Strategic Dialogue and high-level visits, we seek a broad-based relationship in which India contributes to global counterterrorism efforts, nonproliferation, and helps promote poverty-reduction, education, health, and sustainable agriculture. We value India's growing leadership

on a wide array of global issues, through groups such as the G-20, and will seek to work with India to promote stability in South Asia and elsewhere in the world.

**Russia:** We seek to build a stable, substantive, multidimensional relationship with Russia, based on mutual interests. The United States has an interest in a strong, peaceful, and prosperous Russia that respects international norms. As the two nations possessing the majority of the world's nuclear weapons, we are working together to advance nonproliferation, both by reducing our nuclear arsenals and by cooperating to ensure that other countries meet their international commitments to reducing the spread of nuclear weapons around the world. We will seek greater partnership with Russia in confronting violent extremism, especially in Afghanistan. We also will seek new trade and investment arrangements for increasing the prosperity of our peoples. We support efforts within Russia to promote the rule of law, accountable government, and universal values. While actively seeking Russia's cooperation to act as a responsible partner in Europe and Asia, we will support the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Russia's neighbors.

**Emerging Centers of Influence:** Due to increased economic growth and political stability, individual nations are increasingly taking on powerful regional and global roles and changing the landscape of international cooperation. To achieve a just and sustainable order that advances our shared security and prosperity, we are, therefore, deepening our partnerships with emerging powers and encouraging them to play a greater role in strengthening international norms and advancing shared interests.

The rise of the G-20, for example, as the premier international economic forum, represents a distinct shift in our global international order toward greater cooperation between traditional major economies and emerging centers of influence. The nations composing the G-20—from South Korea to South Africa, Saudi Arabia to Argentina—represent at least 80 percent of global gross national product, making it an influential body on the world stage. Stabilizing our global economy, increasing energy efficiency around the globe, and addressing chronic hunger in poor countries are only three examples of the broad global challenges that cannot be solved by a few countries alone.

Indonesia—as the world's fourth most populous country, a member of the G-20, and a democracy—will become an increasingly important partner on regional and transnational issues such as climate change, counterterrorism, maritime security, peacekeeping, and disaster relief. With tolerance, resilience, and multiculturalism as core values, and a flourishing civil society, Indonesia is uniquely positioned to help address challenges facing the developing world.

In the Americas, we are bound by proximity, integrated markets, energy interdependence, a broadly shared commitment to democracy, and the rule of law. Our deep historical, familial, and cultural ties make our alliances and partnerships critical to U.S. interests. We will work in equal partnership to advance economic and social inclusion, safeguard citizen safety and security, promote clean energy, and defend universal values of the people of the hemisphere.

We welcome Brazil's leadership and seek to move beyond dated North-South divisions to pursue progress on bilateral, hemispheric, and global issues. Brazil's macroeconomic success, coupled with its steps to narrow socioeconomic gaps, provide important lessons for countries throughout the Americas and Africa. We will encourage Brazilian efforts against illicit transnational networks. As guardian of a unique national environmental patrimony and a leader in renewable fuels, Brazil is an important partner

### III. ADVANCING OUR INTERESTS

in confronting global climate change and promoting energy security. And in the context of the G-20 and the Doha round, we will work with Brazil to ensure that economic development and prosperity is broadly shared.

We have an array of enduring interests, longstanding commitments and new opportunities for broadening and deepening relationships in the greater Middle East. This includes maintaining a strong partnership with Israel while supporting Israel's lasting integration into the region. The U.S. also will continue to develop our key security relationships in the region with such Arab states as with Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia and other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries—partnerships that enable our militaries and defense systems to work together more effectively.

We have a strategic interest in ensuring that the social and economic needs and political rights of people in this region, who represent one of the world's youngest populations, are met. We will continue to press governments in the region to undertake political reforms and to loosen restrictions on speech, assembly and media. We will maintain our strong support for civil society groups and those individuals who stand up for universal rights. And we will continue to foster partnerships in areas like education, economic growth, science, and health to help expand opportunity. On a multilateral basis, we seek to advance shared security interests, such as through NATO's Istanbul Cooperation Initiative with the GCC, and common interests in promoting governance and institutional reform through participating in the Forum for the Future and other regional dialogues.

The diversity and complexity of the African continent offer the United States opportunities and challenges. As African states grow their economies and strengthen their democratic institutions and governance, America will continue to embrace effective partnerships. Our economic, security, and political cooperation will be consultative and encompass global, regional, and national priorities including access to open markets, conflict prevention, global peacekeeping, counterterrorism, and the protection of vital carbon sinks. The Administration will refocus its priorities on strategic interventions that can promote job creation and economic growth; combat corruption while strengthening good governance and accountability; responsibly improve the capacity of African security and rule of law sectors; and work through diplomatic dialogue to mitigate local and regional tensions before they become crises. We will also reinforce sustainable stability in key states like Nigeria and Kenya that are essential subregional linchpins.

The United States will work to remain an attractive and influential partner by ensuring that African priorities such as infrastructure development, improving reliable access to power, and increased trade and investment remain high on our agenda. South Africa's inclusion in the G-20 should be followed by a growing number of emerging African nations who are charting a course toward improved governance and meaningful development. South Africa's vibrant democracy, combined with its regional and global leadership roles, is a critical partner. From peacemaking to climate change to capacity-building, South Africa brings unique value and perspective to international initiatives. With its strong, diversified, well-managed economy, it often serves as a springboard to the entire African continent, and we will work to pursue shared interests in Africa's security, growth, and the development of Africa's human capital.

## *Strengthen Institutions and Mechanisms for Cooperation*

Just as U.S. foresight and leadership were essential to forging the architecture for international cooperation after World War II, we must again lead global efforts to modernize the infrastructure for international cooperation in the 21st century. Indeed, our ability to advance peace, security, and opportunity will turn on our ability to strengthen both our national and our multilateral capabilities. To solve problems, we will pursue modes of cooperation that reflect evolving distributions of power and responsibility. We need to assist existing institutions to perform effectively. When they come up short, we must seek meaningful changes and develop alternative mechanisms.

**Enhance Cooperation with and Strengthen the United Nations:** We are enhancing our coordination with the U.N. and its agencies. We need a U.N. capable of fulfilling its founding purpose—maintaining international peace and security, promoting global cooperation, and advancing human rights. To this end, we are paying our bills. We are intensifying efforts with partners on and outside the U.N. Security Council to ensure timely, robust, and credible Council action to address threats to peace and security. We favor Security Council reform that enhances the U.N.'s overall performance, credibility, and legitimacy. Across the broader U.N. system we support reforms that promote effective and efficient leadership and management of the U.N.'s international civil service, and we are working with U.N. personnel and member states to strengthen the U.N.'s leadership and operational capacity in peacekeeping, humanitarian relief, post-disaster recovery, development assistance, and the promotion of human rights. And we are supporting new U.N. frameworks and capacities for combating transnational threats like proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, infectious disease, drug-trafficking, and counterterrorism.

**Pursue Decisions through a Wide Range of Frameworks and Coalitions:** We need to spur and harness a new diversity of instruments, alliances, and institutions in which a division of labor emerges on the basis of effectiveness, competency, and long-term reliability. This requires enhanced coordination among the United Nations, regional organizations, international financial institutions, specialized agencies, and other actors that are better placed or equipped to manage certain threats and challenges. We are attempting to forge new agreement on common global challenges among the world's leading and emerging powers to ensure that multilateral cooperation reflects the sustained commitment of influential countries. While we are pursuing G-8 initiatives with proven and long-standing partners, have begun to shift the focus of our economic coordination to the G-20, which is more reflective of today's diffusion of power and the need to enlist the efforts of a broader spectrum of countries across Asia to Europe, Africa to the Middle East, and our neighbors in the Americas. We are also renewing U.S. leadership in the multilateral development banks and the IMF, and leveraging our engagement and investments in these institutions to strengthen the global economy, lift people out of poverty, advance food security, address climate and pandemics, and secure fragile states such as Afghanistan and Haiti.

**Invest in Regional Capabilities:** Regional organizations can be particularly effective at mobilizing and legitimating cooperation among countries closest to the problem. Regional organizations—whether NATO, the Organization for Security Cooperation in Europe, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the African Union, Organization of American States, or ASEAN, and the Gulf Cooperation Council—vary widely in their membership, constitutions, histories, orientation, and operational capabilities. That variety needs to inform a strategic approach to their evolving roles and relative contributions to global security.

The United States is encouraging continued innovation and development of enhanced regional capabilities in the context of an evolving division of labor among local, national, and global institutions that seeks to leverage relative capacities. Where appropriate, we use training and related programs to strengthen regional capacities for peacekeeping and conflict management to improve impact and share burdens. We will also encourage a more comprehensive approach to regional security that brings balanced focus to issues such as food security, global health, and education; access to more affordable and greener forms of energy; access to fair and efficient justice; and a concerted effort to promote transparency at all levels and to fight the corrosive effect of corruption.

#### *Sustain Broad Cooperation on Key Global Challenges*

Many of today's challenges cannot be solved by one nation or even a group of nations. The test of our international order, therefore, will be its ability to facilitate the broad and effective global cooperation necessary to meet 21st century challenges. Many of these challenges have been discussed previously, including violent extremism, nuclear proliferation, and promotion of global prosperity. In addition, other key challenges requiring broad global cooperation include:

**Climate Change:** The danger from climate change is real, urgent, and severe. The change wrought by a warming planet will lead to new conflicts over refugees and resources; new suffering from drought and famine; catastrophic natural disasters; and the degradation of land across the globe. The United States will therefore confront climate change based upon clear guidance from the science, and in cooperation with all nations—for there is no effective solution to climate change that does not depend upon all nations taking responsibility for their own actions and for the planet we will leave behind.

- **Home:** Our effort begins with the steps that we are taking at home. We will stimulate our energy economy at home, reinvigorate the U.S. domestic nuclear industry, increase our efficiency standards, invest in renewable energy, and provide the incentives that make clean energy the profitable kind of energy. This will allow us to make deep cuts in emissions—in the range of 17 percent by 2020 and more than 80 percent by 2050. This will depend in part upon comprehensive legislation and its effective implementation.
- **Abroad:** Regionally, we will build on efforts in Asia, the Americas, and Africa to forge new clean energy partnerships. Globally, we will seek to implement and build on the Copenhagen Accord, and ensure a response to climate change that draws upon decisive action by all nations. Our goal is an effective, international effort in which all major economies commit to ambitious national action to reduce their emissions, nations meet their commitments in a transparent manner, and the necessary financing is mobilized so that developing countries can adapt to climate change, mitigate its impacts, conserve forests, and invest in clean energy technologies. We will pursue this global cooperation through multiple avenues, with a focus on advancing cooperation that works. We accept the principle of common but differentiated responses and respective capabilities, but will insist that any approach draws upon each nation taking responsibility for its own actions.

**Peacekeeping and Armed Conflict:** The untold loss of human life, suffering, and property damage that results from armed conflict necessitates that all responsible nations work to prevent it. No single nation

can or should shoulder the burden for managing or resolving the world's armed conflicts. To this end, we will place renewed emphasis on deterrence and prevention by mobilizing diplomatic action, and use development and security sector assistance to build the capacity of at-risk nations and reduce the appeal of violent extremism. But when international forces are needed to respond to threats and keep the peace, we will work with international partners to ensure they are ready, able, and willing. We will continue to build support in other countries to contribute to sustaining global peace and stability operations, through U.N. peacekeeping and regional organizations, such as NATO and the African Union. We will continue to broaden the pool of troop and police contributors, working to ensure that they are properly trained and equipped, that their mandates are matched to means, and that their missions are backed by the political action necessary to build and sustain peace.

In Sudan, which has been marred by violent conflict for decades, the United States remains committed to working with the international community to support implementation of outstanding elements of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and ensure that the referendum on the future of Southern Sudan in 2011 happens on time and that its results are respected. In addition, we will continue to engage in the efforts necessary to support peace and stability after the referendum, and continue to work to secure peace, dignity, and accountability in Darfur.

- **Prevent Genocide and Mass Atrocities:** The United States and all member states of the U.N. have endorsed the concept of the "Responsibility to Protect." In so doing, we have recognized that the primary responsibility for preventing genocide and mass atrocity rests with sovereign governments, but that this responsibility passes to the broader international community when sovereign governments themselves commit genocide or mass atrocities, or when they prove unable or unwilling to take necessary action to prevent or respond to such crimes inside their borders. The United States is committed to working with our allies, and to strengthening our own internal capabilities, in order to ensure that the United States and the international community are proactively engaged in a strategic effort to prevent mass atrocities and genocide. In the event that prevention fails, the United States will work both multilaterally and bilaterally to mobilize diplomatic, humanitarian, financial, and—in certain instances—military means to prevent and respond to genocide and mass atrocities.
- **International Justice:** From Nuremberg to Yugoslavia to Liberia, the United States has seen that the end of impunity and the promotion of justice are not just moral imperatives; they are stabilizing forces in international affairs. The United States is thus working to strengthen national justice systems and is maintaining our support for ad hoc international tribunals and hybrid courts. Those who intentionally target innocent civilians must be held accountable, and we will continue to support institutions and prosecutions that advance this important interest. Although the United States is not at present a party to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), and will always protect U.S. personnel, we are engaging with State Parties to the Rome Statute on issues of concern and are supporting the ICC's prosecution of those cases that advance U.S. interests and values, consistent with the requirements of U.S. law.

**Pandemics and Infectious Disease:** The threat of contagious disease transcends political boundaries, and the ability to prevent, quickly detect and contain outbreaks with pandemic potential has never been so



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important. An epidemic that begins in a single community can quickly evolve into a multinational health crisis that causes millions to suffer, as well as spark major disruptions to travel and trade. Addressing these transnational risks requires advance preparation, extensive collaboration with the global community, and the development of a resilient population at home.

Recognizing that the health of the world's population has never been more interdependent, we are improving our public health and medical capabilities on the front lines, including domestic and international disease surveillance, situational awareness, rapid and reliable development of medical countermeasures to respond to public health threats, preparedness education and training, and surge capacity of the domestic health care system to respond to an influx of patients due to a disaster or emergency. These capabilities include our ability to work with international partners to mitigate and contain disease when necessary.

We are enhancing international collaboration and strengthening multilateral institutions in order to improve global surveillance and early warning capabilities and quickly enact control and containment measures against the next pandemic threat. We continue to improve our understanding of emerging diseases and help develop environments that are less conducive to epidemic emergence. We depend on U.S. overseas laboratories, relationships with host nation governments, and the willingness of states to share health data with nongovernmental and international organizations. In this regard, we need to continue to work to overcome the lack of openness and a general reluctance to share health information. Finally, we seek to mitigate other problem areas, including limited global vaccine production capacity, and the threat of emergent and reemergent disease in poorly governed states.

**Transnational Criminal Threats and Threats to Governance:** Transnational criminal threats and illicit trafficking networks continue to expand dramatically in size, scope, and influence—posing significant national security challenges for the United States and our partner countries. These threats cross borders and continents and undermine the stability of nations, subverting government institutions through corruption and harming citizens worldwide. Transnational criminal organizations have accumulated unprecedented wealth and power through trafficking and other illicit activities, penetrating legitimate financial systems and destabilizing commercial markets. They extend their reach by forming alliances with government officials and some state security services. The crime-terror nexus is a serious concern as terrorists use criminal networks for logistical support and funding. Increasingly, these networks are involved in cyber crime, which cost consumers billions of dollars annually, while undermining global confidence in the international financial system.

Combating transnational criminal and trafficking networks requires a multidimensional strategy that safeguards citizens, breaks the financial strength of criminal and terrorist networks, disrupts illicit trafficking networks, defeats transnational criminal organizations, fights government corruption, strengthens the rule of law, bolsters judicial systems, and improves transparency. While these are major challenges, the United States will be able to devise and execute a collective strategy with other nations facing the same threats.

**Safeguarding the Global Commons:** Across the globe, we must work in concert with allies and partners to optimize the use of shared sea, air, and space domains. These shared areas, which exist outside exclusive national jurisdictions, are the connective tissue around our globe upon which all nations' security

and prosperity depend. The United States will continue to help safeguard access, promote security, and ensure the sustainable use of resources in these domains. These efforts require strong multilateral cooperation, enhanced domain awareness and monitoring, and the strengthening of international norms and standards.

We must work together to ensure the constant flow of commerce, facilitate safe and secure air travel, and prevent disruptions to critical communications. We must also safeguard the sea, air, and space domains from those who would deny access or use them for hostile purposes. This includes keeping strategic straits and vital sea lanes open, improving the early detection of emerging maritime threats, denying adversaries hostile use of the air domain, and ensuring the responsible use of space. As one key effort in the sea domain, for example, we will pursue ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

Many of these goals are equally applicable to cyberspace. While cyberspace relies on the digital infrastructure of individual countries, such infrastructure is globally connected, and securing it requires global cooperation. We will push for the recognition of norms of behavior in cyberspace, and otherwise work with global partners to ensure the protection of the free flow of information and our continued access. At all times, we will continue to defend our digital networks from intrusion and harmful disruption.

**Arctic Interests:** The United States is an Arctic Nation with broad and fundamental interests in the Arctic region, where we seek to meet our national security needs, protect the environment, responsibly manage resources, account for indigenous communities, support scientific research, and strengthen international cooperation on a wide range of issues.





## IV. Conclusion

“It’s easy to forget that, when this war began, we were united, bound together by the fresh memory of a horrific attack and by the determination to defend our homeland and the values we hold dear. I refuse to accept the notion that we cannot summon that unity again. I believe with every fiber of my being that we, as Americans, can still come together behind a common purpose, for our values are not simply words written into parchment. They are a creed that calls us together and that has carried us through the darkest of storms as one nation, as one people.”

—President Barack Obama, West Point, New York, December 2, 2009

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This strategy calls for a comprehensive range of national actions, and a broad conception of what constitutes our national security. Above all, it is about renewing our leadership by calling upon what is best about America—our innovation and capacity; our openness and moral imagination.

Success will require approaches that can be sustained and achieve results. One of the reasons that this nation succeeded in the second half of the 20th century was its capacity to pursue policies and build institutions that endured across multiple Administrations, while also preserving the flexibility to endure setbacks and to make necessary adjustments. In some instances, the United States has been able to carry forward this example in the years since the Cold War. But there are also many open questions, unfinished reforms, and deep divisions—at home and abroad—that constrain our ability to advance our interests and renew our leadership.

To effectively craft and implement a sustainable, results-oriented national security strategy, there must be effective cooperation between the branches of government. This Administration believes that we are strong when we act in line with our laws, as the Constitution itself demands. This Administration is also committed to active consultation with Congress, and welcomes robust and effective oversight of its national security policies. We welcome Congress as a full partner in forging durable solutions to tough challenges, looking beyond the headlines to take a long view of America’s interests. And we encourage Congress to pursue oversight in line with the reforms that have been enacted through legislation, particularly in the years since 9/11.

The executive branch must do its part by developing integrated plans and approaches that leverage the capabilities across its departments and agencies to deal with the issues we confront. Collaboration across the government—and with our partners at the state, local, and tribal levels of government, in industry, and abroad—must guide our actions.

This kind of effective cooperation will depend upon broad and bipartisan cooperation. Throughout the Cold War, even as there were intense disagreements about certain courses of action, there remained a belief that America’s political leaders shared common goals, even if they differed about how to reach them. In today’s political environment, due to the actions of both parties that sense of common purpose is at times lacking in our national security dialogue. This division places the United States at a strategic

disadvantage. It sets back our ability to deal with difficult challenges and injects a sense of anxiety and polarization into our politics that can affect our policies and our posture around the world. It must be replaced by a renewed sense of civility and a commitment to embrace our common purpose as Americans.

Americans are by nature a confident and optimistic people. We would not have achieved our position of leadership in the world without the extraordinary strength of our founding documents and the capability and courage of generations of Americans who gave life to those values—through their service, through their sacrifices, through their aspirations, and through their pursuit of a more perfect union. We see those same qualities today, particularly in our young men and women in uniform who have served tour after tour of duty to defend our nation in harm's way, and their civilian counterparts.

This responsibility cannot be theirs alone. And there is no question that we, as a nation, can meet our responsibility as Americans once more. Even in a world of enormous challenges, no threat is bigger than the American peoples' capacity to meet it, and no opportunity exceeds our reach. We continue to draw strength from those founding documents that established the creed that binds us together. We, too, can demonstrate the capability and courage to pursue a more perfect union and—in doing so—renew American leadership in the world.